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Received 17 Oct. 1893.





CHRISTOPHER LEVETT.

THE GORGES SOCIETY.

V.



©

Christopher Levett.

OF YORK,

The Pioneer Colonist in Casco Bay

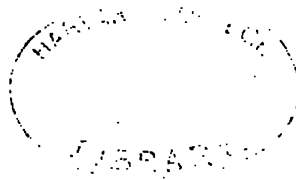
BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A. M.

AUTHOR OF GEORGE CLEEVE OF CASCO BAY, THE BRITISH INVASION FROM
THE NORTH, SIR FERDINANDO GORGES AND HIS
PROVINCE OF MAINE, &C., &C.



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FROM THE PRESS OF
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CHRISTOPHER LEVETT

OF YORK.

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PREFACE.

The Maine Historical Society published in 1847 a book of thirty-four pages, bearing the attractive title of "*A Voyage into New England, begun in 1623 and ended in 1624, Performed by Christopher Levett, His Majesty's Woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England, printed at London by William Jones and sold by Edward Brewster, at the sign of the Bible, in Paul's Churchyard, 1628.*"

This reprint of a very rare book was of considerable interest to historical students, and their interest in the book naturally awakened an interest in its author; hence, the frequent enquiry, "Who was Christopher Levett?" The most that was known about him was that he was a Yorkshireman, and that when he wrote his book, he was living at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. Certainly it was evident that he was a man of some importance, since he was the King's Woodward of Somersetshire,

setshire, and a Councillor of New England, besides being a captain in the royal navy, and an author; but a year's search of the registers of Sherborne and neighboring parishes failed to reveal anything respecting him. In a visitation of the county, however, made in 1623, was found the name of his wife and several of his children, which was considered valuable information, since it gave some idea of Levett's social status. Of course the parishes in the city and neighborhood of York demanded attention; but a patient search of their registers revealed but little. The early seat of the family was found at Normanton, Yorkshire, and in the ancient church in that town was found an interesting tomb erected to Elizabeth Levett, the founder of a girls' school there. A further search of old records disclosed the fact, that a branch of the family settled at Melton, where, in the old church, founded in the reign of Henry I, was found a stained window bearing the Levett arms. The registers of numerous parishes in Yorkshire were carefully searched, but although Levetts were found here and there, offshoots of the Normanton family, Christopher for a long time strangely eluded discovery. Finally, however, a number of important items came to light; first, his baptism on April fifth, 1586, and the name of his father, Percival, and of his mother, Elizabeth Rotherford;

ford; and later his marriage to Mercy More in the Church at Guisley in 1608, and the baptism of their four children at All Saints' Pavement in York. The families of his father and mother and of his wife were also traced through records, all of which occupied time, but were not fruitless.

A considerable collection of manuscript notes had now been gathered, which, with numerous letters from antiquaries and others to the author, were arranged in a scrap book in chronological order, and the search was continued in other directions. In the office of the Public Records, London, important matters turned up; a letter written by Levett to Buckingham's Secretary; the letter book of Lord Conway, containing items relating to Levett's New England affairs, and a proclamation of Charles the First, relating to the same subject; but after an extended search of several years more, a most valuable find was made, at Melbourne House, in Derbyshire, the old residence of Secretary Coke, comprising a number of letters written by Levett to the Secretary, which disclosed many important facts relative to the writer. By permission of Lord Cowper, Mr. Fane most kindly copied these invaluable documents, and they were added to a collection which was growing apace.

But there was one discouraging thing: after 1628,
persistent

persistent search failed to find anything whatever relating to Levett, except a single scrap in 1632, mentioning an inheritance of one of his daughters from her father. This revealed the important fact that he was dead at this date. In Winthrop's Journal was an entry to the effect, that when the Governor landed at Salem in 1630, John Endicott and "Captain Levett" came on board his ship to welcome him, and somewhat later, that "Captain Levett" died at sea on his return voyage to England. Was this Christopher Levett? No proof could be adduced in support of such a supposition, and the simple query elicited disapprobation, as unreasonable as unexpected. The query was certainly a proper one, and the most that could reasonably be said in reply was, that it might or might not have been. At last, however, a visit was paid to Bristol, England, the home of the Cabots, for the purpose of examining the ancient records there for matters relating to some of the early Colonists of New England. Among other records those of the Probate of Bristol were examined, and, Eureka! here was the proof that the "Captain Levett" of Winthrop was the veritable Christopher himself, the unquestionable proof, comprised in a brief record, to the effect, that his wife, Frances, administered upon his effects brought to Bristol by the ship upon which he died.

The

The author had now gathered enough to throw considerable light upon this first, hitherto unknown owner, of Portland soil, and this he now presents in the following pages, to those who are interested in such subjects, regretting deeply that he has been unable to give his readers a more complete account of the man himself. To some it will doubtless seem that the result of his undertaking is too insignificant to warrant the labor bestowed upon it.

Before closing, the author should acknowledge favors received from historical friends. He cannot too fully express his deep sense of obligation to Dr. Francis Collins, formerly of the Charter House, London, and now of Fulford, York, who has, to use the words of the late Rev. Frederick Brown, "lovingly aided" the author in his researches. His warm thanks are likewise due to Dr. John Sykes, of Doncaster, and Wm. Noel Sanisbury, Esq., of the Rolls House, London. To Dr. Chas. E. Banks, Hubbard W. Bryant and Henry F. Waters, the author is also indebted for favors.

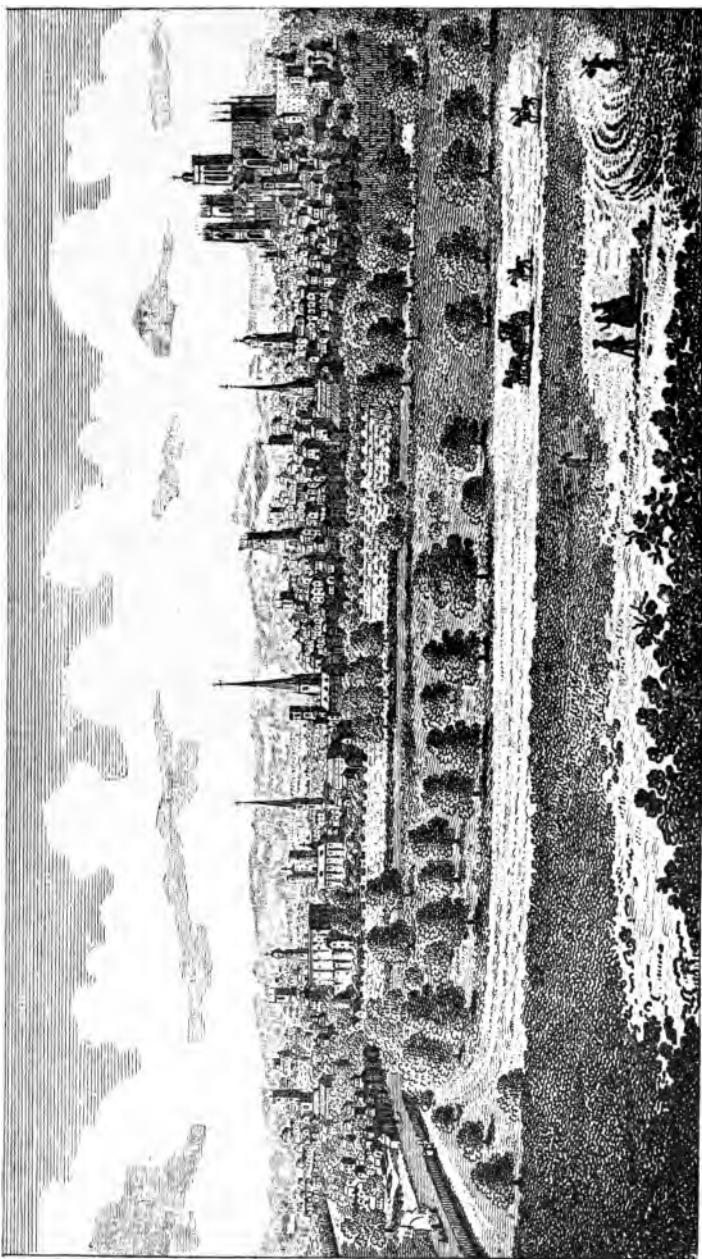
A closing word in relation to Levett's book: this it was thought best to reproduce with all its quaint spellings and abbreviations; indeed, with all its errors. The author has always doubted the propriety of reproducing abbreviations and errors, or unusual departures from the modern

modern orthographical standard, but the custom of printing ancient books in their original forms has been adopted by so many eminent historical scholars, that he has thought it prudent to follow, *more consuetudo*.

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

Mackworth Island, Sept. 18, 1893.





ANCIENT YORK.



MEMOIR OF CHRISTOPHER LEVETT.

THE family of Levett¹ is of ancient origin, and in the reign of Henry the seventh, was seated at Normanton in Yorkshire,² where it had flourished for many generations.

A branch of the family, through marriage with an heiress, took root at Melton, as we know from a deed of partition

1. The name is frequently so spelt in ancient annals, and is the form used by the subject of this memoir, as will be seen by reference to his signature.

2. This ancient family is represented in the Normanton church by a brass tablet bearing the arms of Levett, sable, a fess embattled, counter embattled between three lions, heads erased, argent, with this inscription :

" Here lieth entombed the body of Robert, son of Thomas Levett, of Normanton, Gnt. who was buried the 29 day of March,

Anno Dni, 1687,
Ætatis Sux, 29."

Also the following inscription may be seen here :

" Normanton Church,

To the Memory
of Mrs. Elizabeth Levett, widow, who by her will, vested in 5 Trustees £200, the interest of one for the use of the Poor of Normanton, Snyderdale.
The interest of the other for a Dame to teach the Girls of Normanton & Woodhouse to read, knit & sow. She also gave £50, half of it conditionally to build a poor house & the other for the use of the poor."

partition of lands, dated the twentieth of June in the fourth year of that reign³; besides, the family coat of arms may still be seen emblazoned upon a stained glass window in the venerable church of Melton, which was founded in the reign of the first Henry.

Other offshoots from the family took root here and there in Yorkshire; indeed, for many generations they did not grow beyond the limits of the old county, and the persistency with which they clung to it made them distinctly a Yorkshire family⁴; hence we may understand why Christopher Levett, the subject of this brief monograph, entitled himself on several occasions as of York, even after he had removed to another county in the English realm. It was but an exhibition of family pride quite as pardonable as natural.

Christopher Levett was one of a family of four children born in the city of York, where he received baptism at All Saints Pavement on April 5, 1586.

His father was Percival Levett, innkeeper, who was a man of character and influence, since he was made free of the city in 1581; filled the office of City Chamberlain in 1584,

3. *Vide* Hunters' South Yorkshire, London, 1828, Vol. I, p. 365.

4. *Vide* Berry's Sussex Genealogies, pp. 229, 373; Dallaway's Sussex, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 345; Forster's Vis-

itation of Yorkshire, p. 544; Harleian Society's Publications, Vol. VIII, p. 437; Hunters' Deanery of Doncaster, Vol. 1, p. 365; Millers' History of Doncaster, p. 186.

in 1584, and was Sheriff in 1597-8. His uncle, Richard Levett, was also a man of note in his native town, of which he was mayor in 1596, and again in 1608. The mother of Christopher Levett was Elizabeth Rotherforth, the daughter of Alexander, and niece of Robert Rotherforth, "gent," as the records designate him, from whom she inherited property in Yorkshire. Of the childhood and youth of Christopher Levett, unfortunately no memorials have reached us, and but for his voyage to the shores of Casco Bay, his very name would have been buried in oblivion. His youth was passed in stirring times, when Briton and Spaniard were engaged in a deadly struggle for the mastery of the seas, and when all eyes were turning towards a new world in the West, just emerging from an obscurity hitherto impenetrable; a richer prize than had yet aroused to destructive activity the cupidity of the nations of Europe.

Sir Francis Drake had encompassed the world, and the marvelous story of his adventures was still fresh, quickening the aspirations of the youth of that age of poetry and romance; of measureless ambition and magnificent achievement. He was in his cradle when Drake scattered to the winds Spain's invincible Armada, and his infant slumbers must have been disturbed by the joyful tumult with which the tidings of that beneficent exploit was

was welcomed in the streets of his native town ; and later, he must have often listened with eager ears to the adventures of Hawkins and Drake, Gilbert, Raleigh and Frobisher, the latter of whom was a Yorkshireman, told by gossips over their ale in his father's inn.

Respecting his education, we know that he received a fair one for his time. The Levetts, as a family, favored letters. John, a nephew, was an author⁵ ; Christopher himself twice adventured authorship, and his son Jeremy graduated at Cambridge and became a preacher. We may well picture him then, trudging to school through the streets of the old town where the Levett inn stood, and follow him through the varied, but familiar experiences of school life, until the time arrived for him to take up his life work ; and what so attractive to the young man of the Elizabethan age as a life of maritime adventure ?

The men who commanded the admiration of the world in this age were mariners, heroes of the seas, to whom was rendered unstinted worship. No names stood higher

5. A copy of a book in the British Museum by John Levett, entitled "The Ordering of Bees," printed in London, A. D. 1634, contains a preface by "S. Purcas" in rhyme. One of the stanzas is as follows :
*"Thy selfe, thy selfe enough, enough
thy Booke,*

*Thy Booke commands, and I, my
Levett, leave it,
Here in small Bees, God's greatnesse
first I looke,
And thee thy selfe though dead to
live yet."*

A "John Levett, Merchant," was one of the Virginia Company, named in the charter of 23d May, 1609.

higher on the roll of glory than those of Columbus and Cabot. These great navigators were regarded almost as demi-gods, and there were men then living, who received almost as rich a meed of reverence. No wonder, then, that Christopher Levett, when he reached a suitable age, made choice of the sea for his field of enterprise.

Unfortunately we know not with whom he served his apprenticeship; but no doubt with some of the seamen of the time, whose names are yet familiar. He was nearing manhood when Elizabeth ended her brave reign so wretchedly, and was succeeded by that caricature of royalty, James Stuart, whose pernicious policy caused England, who had proudly vaunted herself, to become contemptible among the nations of Europe, who were her inferiors in all things which constitute true national greatness.

It was difficult enough in Elizabeth's reign for young men to make their way in life, so restrictive were the laws, and so numerous were court favorites, who, with their monopolies, blocked the course of commerce and hampered the industries of the nation; but with James came a more rapacious horde of these creatures of royalty than had hitherto oppressed England, and to make matters worse, the avenue to military success, which had been a principal one, was suddenly closed by the new monarch,

monarch, to whom every thing which savored of war was odious ; thus, at the period when Christopher Levett entered manhood, it had become almost impossible for anyone to gain access to any avenue of success, unless through the patronage of some court favorite.

What Levett's course was at this time we know not, but later on we find him attached to Buckingham, the chief of that swarm of vampires, who were then preying upon the English people.

A reaction against religious tyranny had long before begun, and as it progressed it drew to itself those opposed to oppression in every form. Those who allied themselves to this movement were of various opinions, and the kind and degree of their opposition varied accordingly.

How far young Levett was affected by this movement, we are not informed ; but we find him, at the age of twenty-one, intimate in the family of Robert More, rector of Guisley, a famous Puritan of his day⁶, and hence opposed to the existing order.

It is the old story. The sturdy Puritan had a fair daughter, named after the Puritan style, Mercy, and with her

6. The will of this noted man was recently discovered by Dr. F. Collins, of Fulford, York, and kindly sent to me. The original, knawed by rats

and otherwise defaced, has been carefully copied by Dr. Collins, and is deemed of sufficient interest to be placed in the appendix to this work.



CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL LE BELFRY, YORK.
Where Christopher Levett was baptized.

her Christopher fell in love, and found his affection reciprocated. Evidently the father looked with favor upon his daughter's choice, as the young people were married in the church at Guisley before the close of the year 1608; Levett, who was of the parish of St. Michael le Belfry at York, having obtained there a license to be married in the former parish. That the newly married couple took up their residence in York, we learn from the fact that here we find recorded the baptism of their children. The names of these, all baptized at All Saints Pavement, are Sarah, baptized September 27, 1610; Rebecca, June 28, 1612; Mary, September 7, 1613; and Jeremy in 1614.

It has been remarked that Christopher Levett had attached himself to Buckingham, which accounts for his removal from York and residence in Sherborne in Dorsetshire, where we find him, in 1618, employed in the royal forests.

In the British Museum is a book written by him and published at the time by William Jones, who, a few years later, published his *Voyage into New England*.

The title of this book is as follows:

"AN
ABSTRACT
OF
TIMBER MEASURES.

Wherein

Wherein is contained the true content of the
Mast timber Trees within the Realme of
 England, which vsually are to
 be bought and sold.

Drawne into a brief Method by way of Arithmeticke
 and, contrived into such a forme, that the most simple
 man in the world, if he doe but know Figures in their
 places, may vnderstand it, and by the due observing of
 it shall be made able to buy and sell with any man be he
 never so skillful, without danger of being deceived.

By C. L. of Sherborne in the Countie
of Dorset, Gent.

A Toone of Timber doth containe 40 square foot.
 In a foot square is 1728 Inches.
 In three-quarters of a foot is 1296 Inches.
 In halfe a foot is 0864 Inches.
 In a quarter of a foot is 0432 Inches.

Printed by William Iones, 1618."

The dedication is—

"To the High and Mightie James
 By the Grace of God,
 King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland."

and is signed—

"Your

“Your Majesties loyall
subject till death.

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT.”

The book is commended—

“To the Right Honorable The Nobilitie
of the Realm of England by
Your Honors poore friend.”

Under a quaint head piece the reader is also addressed as follows :

“To all Timber buyers and sellers and
all others that deale in Timber or Timber workes
that love good dealing, and to be well
dealt with.”

Your Wel-willer,
C. L.?”

Then, under the title “An Abstract for Timber-measures,” are tables arranged to show the contents of pieces of timber of various sizes. Levett’s book evidently found an extensive use, as it furnished a ready means for ascertaining the contents of lumber by a method then quite new; indeed, Levett appears as a pioneer

7. It is doubtful if another copy of this book exists. It is bound with several other unimportant publica-

tions, and may easily escape the attention even of one interested in the subject.

pioneer in compiling tables of measurement. This book was doubtless of benefit to the author, as it brought him to the king's attention. He was acquainted with timber, and possessed of a knowledge of ships, gained from his profession of a mariner; hence, he was well fitted for the position to which he was assigned, that of Woodward, of Somersetshire. This was an office of considerable importance, as it placed the royal forests largely under the control of the incumbent.

From these forests was drawn the timber for the British navy, the right arm of English power, and owing to the ignorance or dishonesty, or both combined, of the officials who managed them, they often suffered serious spoliation. The protection of the forests had for some time been a subject of solicitude to those who had the welfare of the kingdom at heart, and methods for their preservation had been discussed.

The Woodward's duties were somewhat onerous. He was not only expected to protect the growing timber against trespassers, but to select and mark, with the king's broad arrow, trees suitable for conversion into masts for the royal navy.

Levett claimed to have performed the duty disinterestedly, and for the best interests of the realm. If he did this, he certainly accomplished what some of his predecessors

predecessors failed to accomplish, if the stories told of the management of the forests were true.

In 1623, Levett, who is spoken of as one of the captains of his Majesty's ships, was still a resident of Sherborne, the favorite home of Raleigh. His wife, Mercy, had died, and he had married Frances, the daughter of Oliver Lottisham, Esq., of Farrington, Somersetshire, and their children were Timothy, then aged eight, and Elizabeth, aged six years. The Lottishams were an old county family of distinction, and this marriage gives us an idea of Levett's social standing.

The public interest in the new world had been aroused to a remarkable degree by the opposition, which had been raised in Parliament against the charter of the Council for New England, on account of the monopoly which it was attempting to exercise in accordance with the privileges which had been conferred upon it by Royal charter.

A clamor was raised against the Council, the head and front of which was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The indefatigable efforts of Gorges to open New England to colonization, aided by Captain John Smith and others, who had visited the coast and returned home with some knowledge of the vast resources of the country, and especially the achievement of the brave men, who had successfully

cessfully established themselves at Plymouth, had at last awakened the English people to a partial realization of the fact that their colonial possessions in the West were important, and this tended to increase hostility to the monopolists. Within the territory of this vast monopoly, which extended from the fortieth to the forty-eighth parallel of latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it was necessary to establish some degree of governmental order.

The powers of the Council were extensive, as it had ample authority to enact laws and to establish courts; in fact, to create and set in motion everything necessary to energetic rule; nor was its jurisdiction confined by territorial limits, but extended to those on the high seas, who were coming to or departing from its domain. Besides these remarkable powers, the Council could control the entire commerce of New England. No vessel engaged in commerce could enter a seaport or river, or touch at an island within the limits of the Council's charter, without incurring liability to seizure and confiscation. Nor was this enough; the Captain and crew might be imprisoned and punished in any manner not contrary to the laws and statutes of England.⁸ Such powers imposed heavy responsibilities upon those who might

8. *Vide* Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Boston,

1890, Prince Society, Vol. 2, pp. 123-148.

might wield them, and it was necessary for the Council to select men of character and ability to represent it.

At this time Christopher Levett was contemplating a voyage to New England with the view of establishing a colony.

On the fifth of May, 1623, the Council for New England voted to grant him 6000 acres of land, to be selected by him within the limits of its charter,⁹ and Levett at once set on foot measures to accomplish his purpose. A prominent feature of his plan was to erect a city within the territory controlled by him, and to christen it after his native city, York. Not only was this grateful to his pride as a citizen of the minster town, but it was expected that the novel enterprise would attract the attention of his Yorkshire friends, and enlist their interest. His first step, after securing his grant, was to get the ear of Secretary Conway, whose influence was secondary only to that of Buckingham, and in this he so far succeeded, that he not only obtained from the obliging Secretary his own, but also the king's endorsement of the enterprise, as we learn from the following letter, addressed by Conway to the Lord President of York.¹⁰

RIGHT

9. *Vide* Records of the Council for New England, Cambridge, 1867, p. 46. "In consideraçon of a statute given by Mr. Christopher Levitt, Esqr, for £110 to bee a principall pattentee. *Prout* pr statute. It is ordered that a grant bee made unto Mr. Levitt for

6,000 acres of land, *prout*, &c. This grant was drawne by Sr Henry Spelman and signed, *prout*, &c."

10. *Vide* Conway's Letter Book, No. 218, p. 58, in the office of the Public Records, London, for the original of this letter.

RIGHT HONORABLE :

I am commanded by his Ma., to acquaint yo. Ld. with the good judgment his Ma., makes of the undertaking in New England more particularly of the plantaçon intended in that part by his servant Mr. Christopher Levett one of the Counsell for the settlement of the plantaçon where he hath one designe that is generally honorable to the Nation and to the p'ticular County and City of Yorke intending to build a Citty and call it by the name of Yorke. This application of his whole designe to the p'ticular County of Yorke, deserves p'ticular contribution of favo. towards this soe notable a good worke. His sute is that he might have Adventurers to joyne w., him to sett forth fiftie men w., fiftie others that he intends to carrie over,¹¹ and that such as shal be unwilling to adventure may neverthelesse be mooved to contribute towards building of a Fort which he intends to make for the preservation of those¹² that are to depend upon him, & to secure the plantaçon. His Ma., request therefore to yo. L. is that yo. will employ your industrie and yo. judicious mediation betweene the Gentlemen of that Countie and Mr. Levett and by all fair psuasions to weane from the Countie some assistance upon such conditions as may be just and suteable w. his reputaçon w. favo. his Ma., will acknowledge as done att his request. And I am glad of this opportunity to doe this Gentleman

a good

11. In the original the following words after the word "over," are erased, "or else that he might have some contribution to enable him to take with him these fiftie men he

raiseth himselfe he being resolved to make a effort."

12. After the word "those" the following words are erased, "wch shall preserve all."

a good office and to present my service to yo. L. w. that affection
& respect w. becomes

Yo. Lo., humble servant,

EDW. CONWAY.¹³

Greenwich, 26 June 1623.

Although Levett had this strong endorsement, which without doubt engaged the active efforts of Lord Scrope¹⁴ in his behalf, he did not succeed in getting so many of his old Yorkshire friends to join him in his promising enterprise as he had hoped to get; nevertheless, he obtained a ship and a number of men, and with them set out for New England, not long after the date of this letter.

It had been arranged that Levett was to be one of the councillors in the new government, which the Council for New England contemplated setting up in their domain. The head of this government was Robert Gorges,¹⁵ the younger son of Sir Ferdinando, who was commissioned

13. Edward, Lord Conway, Secretary of State, afterwards Viscount Killultagh and Viscount Conway.

14. Lord Emanuel Scrope, Lord President of York, afterwards Earl of Sunderland.

15. A brief account of Robert Gorges is to be found in Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Boston, Prince Society, Vol. II, p. 167. Bradford, in his History of

Plymouth Plantation, p. 148, et seq., says: "About ye middle of September arrived Captaine Robert Gorges in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts with sundrie passengers and families, intending there to begine a plantation; and pitched upon ye place Mr. Weston's people had forsaken.

He had a comission from ye Council of New England to be a generall Gover. of ye cuntries, and they ap-

commissioned Governor and Lieutenant General of New England. The other councillors were Captain Francis West¹⁶ and the Governor of New Plymouth. In addition to his office of councillor, Captain West held a commission as Admiral, and Captain Thomas Squibb¹⁷ as Vice Admiral, of New England. These had authority to choose such associate councillors as they might think necessary to aid them in the administration of the new government. As the church was to be erected in the wilderness, the Reverend William Morrell¹⁸ was charged with that important undertaking. All these men were of good character and possessed of fair ability.

In spite of the clamor which had been raised against the monopoly of Gorges and his associates, the king's sympathies were with them, and his Privy Council followed

pointed for his counsell and assistance, Capitaine Francis West, ye aforesaid admirall, Christopher Levite, Esquire, and ye Govr. of Plimoth for ye time beeing, &c."

16. *Vide* Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Vol. I, p. 128.

17. Capt. Thomas Squibb, who bore the somewhat exaggerated title of Vice Admiral in this expedition, belonged to a class of roving adventurers of which Capt. John Smith was a typical representative.

Some time previous to his appoint-

ment under West, he had been a captive in Algiers, and upon regaining his liberty, found congenial employment in a fleet sent out from England to reduce the pirates.

He did not long remain in New England to help prop up the government of Gorges, for we find him, ere long, a privateersman, despoiling the enemies of England, in which profitable occupation, diligently followed by him for several years, the world loses sight of him forever.

18. *Vide Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 129.

lowed the views of the monopolists in shaping orders for the regulation of trade in New England. These were strict, and the Admiral was directed to affix them to the mainmast of every ship bound for New England.

Christopher Levett reached the Isles of Shoals, which appear to have been his first landfall after leaving the shores of England, in the autumn of 1623, where he landed, and from there proceeded to a place now known as Odione's Point, at the mouth of the Piscataqua, where David Thompson, an enterprising young man, had, a few months before, settled a small colony. Here Levett found Governor Gorges and other members of the new government awaiting his arrival; and here, after Levett had received the oath of office, was formally organized the first government, *de jure* if not *de facto*, over New England. Levett was obliged to remain at Thompson's for a month, though he made good use of his time in exploring the country in the vicinity, in order to collect his men, many of whom had already found their way to New England before him, and were awaiting his arrival, probably about the mouth of the Saco and Spurwink, and perhaps at points even further East.

The season was far advanced when his men assembled at Thompson's, and it proved to be unpropitious for exploration; but dividing his company into two parties, he
coasted

coasted Eastward, suffering much inconvenience from the rough weather which he encountered, as he had only open boats with which to explore the coast. His courage and cheerful disposition, however, were equal to the occasion, and defied the wild storms of sleet and snow which assailed him. After examining the region about the York river,¹⁹ which he found suitable for planting, he proceeded to the Kennebunk and explored the little harbor of Cape Porpoise, which did not impress him favorably, though he noticed good timber in the vicinity. From here he set his course for Saco, losing one of his men on the way; in what manner he does not explain; and had not proceeded far before a thick fog curtailed the land from view. He was, however, wise enough before losing sight of land to take its bearings, which enabled him to keep his course correctly. The wind, which was blowing off shore, kept increasing in violence, and as night shut down upon Levett and his boat's crew, for the other boat had disappeared, their condition was perilous. This they realized and took counsel together as to the best method to adopt for their safety. The roaring of the great waves as they broke along the beaches, which here fringe the coast for a long distance, made the gloom of night, as it gathered about them, all the more terrible. It was impossible to make a landing owing to the dangerous surf, and

19. *Vide* Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Vol. I, p. 130.

and throwing out their little anchor, Levett and his weary crew anxiously wished for the day. At dawn, "with much ado," they made a landing and found the other boat safe. Putting up a feeble shelter against the storm with their sails, for five days they retained this place as a base from which to make their explorations. Here they found plenty of wild fowl, upon which they regaled themselves, and save for the fact that they were obliged to sleep in their wet clothing, on the water soaked and frosty ground, they were not badly off. When the storm permitted, Levett, taking with him six men, set out on foot to explore the coast, but after proceeding about two miles he found an impassable barrier to further progress in the Saco river, which compelled him to return to camp, and finding the marsh grass sufficiently dry, he set his men gathering it for a bed, which he greatly enjoyed; or as he himself expressed it, "rested as contentedly as ever I did in all my life"; indeed, he was reminded by the comfort, which the dry straw gave him, of the merry saying of a beggar, that if he were ever "a king, he would have a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and lodge every night up to the ears in dry straw," and with the abundant cheerfulness which marked his character, he kept his companions in good spirits by witty anecdotes, wholesomely spiced with piety, to the effect

effect that they were having, even then, much greater blessings than they deserved at God's hands. The next day Levett sent one of his boats with four men to skirt the shore along the mouth of the Saco, while he with three others set off across the country on foot, with the intention of meeting the boat and crossing the river in it, but bad weather and deep snow prevented, and compelled him and his companions to sleep upon the river's bank, almost without shelter.

When morning came, they crossed the Saco and explored the coast as far east as the Spurwink. Everywhere they found abundance of game, which in a measure compensated for the many deprivations, which they were obliged to suffer. A primeval forest fringed the shores, from which loomed above their fellows immense pines suitable for the tallest ships which sailed the seas, and in greater profusion than Levett had ever pictured in his dreams; as he expressed it, there was everywhere, "a world of fowl and good timber." The Saco River was the strongest he had ever beheld, owing to the force of its current, which was so strong that he found the water "in the very main ocean" as fresh as from "the head of a spring." This strange river, he was told by the savages, issued from a great mountain to the west, called the Crystal Hill, so high as to be seen by mariners as far west as Cape Cod, and east, as Monhegan. Old

Old Orchard Beach, which Champlain and De Monts had visited and described, when, seventeen years before, they, like Levett, were seeking for a place where they might settle a colony, attracted his attention, but like his predecessors, he did not deem it suitable for habitation ; an opinion in which the many, who now so happily sojourn there, would not acquiesce. None of these places fully satisfied our explorer, and he returned to the camp where he had left a number of his men at " Saco " ; not the site of the present city of that name, but nine miles below it, at a place now called the Pool, where Richard Vines, the then future founder of Biddeford, had passed a winter with the natives a few years before. Here he was seized with a chill, the result of excessive toil and exposure to wet and cold, from which, however, thanks to a hardy constitution, he soon recovered. Having prepared for a more extended exploration, he set out with his entire company, and skirted the coast until he reached the islands at the mouth of Portland Harbor. These islands, now known as House, Cushing's, Peak's, and Diamond, with the harbor which they helped to form, pleased him. The region he calls by the not euphonious name of Quack, which probably but imperfectly represents the sound in the Indian tongue.

Levett explored the harbor and rowed up Fore river,
which

which he named Levett's river, and which, the Indians informed him, abounded with salmon in their season. Although inwardly resolving to make this the site of his future city, he wished to study the coast eastward, and pushed on past Munjoy to the mouth of the Presumpscot. This beautiful river, with the green island at its outlet²⁰ dividing its waters as they course to the sea, must have presented a striking picture to Levett, as he rounded Martin's Point,²¹ with its wide spreading oaks and lofty pines sweeping to the water's edge. Pulling up toward the first fall of the Presumpscot, which he declares to be "bigger than the fall at London bridge," he soon came in sight of the home of the red men, who welcomed him with abundant hospitality; the chief sharing with him his own habitation. This

20. Mackworth Island, granted to Arthur Mackworth by Richard Vines, acting in behalf of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Lord Proprietor, March 30, 1635. Mackworth's residence was on the point bearing his name opposite the island, which pedestrians can reach by a bar left bare at low tide. This island was a favorite resort of the Indians, whose camps surrounded its bold shores. Recently a large portion of it was ploughed for the first time, exposing the locations and forms of the ancient camps, and unearthing various implements, fragments of aboriginal pottery, bones

and ashes. Though more than two hundred and fifty years have passed since it was granted to Arthur Mackworth, it still bears the name of its first owner.

21. This beautiful promontory, now crowned by the U. S. Marine Hospital buildings, derives its name from Richard Martin, an illiterate fisherman, first in the employ of John Winter, the agent of Robert Trelawny, at Richmond's Island, but who, after the wreck of Trelawny's enterprise, settled on this point and became Arthur Mackworth's nearest neighbor.

This locality seems to have been a convenient rendezvous for the Indians, for while Levett sojourned with Skitterygusset, the sagamore of the Presumpscot, several chiefs from east and west gathered here in a friendly manner, bringing their families with them, and such furs as they had gathered during the winter, to barter with the English. With these savages Levett soon found himself on friendly terms, and when he left the Presumpscot, Sadamoyt, the great chief of the Penobscots, in a fervor of affectionate feeling, pressed upon him a beaver skin, as a token of esteem.

In spite of his predilection for Portland Harbor, Levett prolonged his voyage to the vicinity of the Sagadahoc, where Gorges, always confidently hoping to retrieve the failure of his enterprise under Popham, was intending to found a "state county," and to build a city, which was to have the honor of being christened by the king.

Levett, in his voyage along the shores of Maine, found the Indians everywhere kindly disposed towards him, and numerous sites suitable for plantation. His heart, however, was set on the region about Portland Harbor, which his practiced eye told him was the most suitable place on the coast for a maritime city, and after a brief examination

examination of the Eastern coast, he returned there and selected the site for his prospective city of York.

Levett's probity was as marked as his sagacity, and instead of seizing upon the land by virtue of his English patent, he procured from Cogawesco, the Sagamore of Casco, and his wife, permission to occupy it, recognizing them as inhabitants of the country, and as having "a natural right of inheritance therein." This is in marked contrast with most other patentees of lands in New England, and is highly to his credit. By this wise act, he secured the good will of the Indians and thereby greatly strengthened his position; indeed, he so won upon the affections of the childish and passionate natives, that they strove to persuade him not to leave them, but to remain and share their rude lot. Having secured the site for his city, Levett promptly set about erecting a habitation, fortified to protect its inmates from attack by the Indians, who thronged the bay in search of fish and game; indeed, the islands and shores of Casco Bay were as much a summer resort of the Indians as they now are for men of another race.

Having completed his building on an island at the mouth of the harbor, and placed in it ten men to hold possession, Levett bade adieu to his Indian friends, who expressed sorrow at his departure, assuring him that they
should

should watch the sea for his return, and should welcome him and the friends whom he might bring with him to his new home.

When Levett reached England, he found affairs there unfavorable for his undertaking. The patent for New England, under which he had received title, had been on trial before Parliament, and had been adversely passed upon as a monopoly. There was also trouble with Spain, owing to the rupture of the marriage contract between Prince Charles of England and the Princess Maria of Spain, brought about by the intrigues of Buckingham. A new danger, still greater, threatened Englishmen who had already settled in New England or contemplated settling there; as the French monarch, whose sister, the Princess Henrietta, had taken the place of the Spanish Princess in the affections of Prince Charles, laid claim to a large portion of the American continent, embracing the whole of New England.

The enthusiasts, who had founded powerful States, and prosperous cities in New England, with materials no more substantial than paper and ink, lost heart, and Levett found none bold enough to join him in his enterprise. No matter how fervent his faith in the new country, its possession under a title from the Council, or even from the English Crown, might be disputed.

Surely

Surely there was little to warrant men to encounter the perils with which emigration was surrounded.

Baffled in his efforts to interest others in his New England scheme, Levett now sought a command in one of the many expeditions fitting out for foreign service. The Count of Mansfeldt had raised a large force of Englishmen, and the fleet bearing them had sailed from Dover some weeks before Levett sighted the shores of his native land; indeed, when he arrived, news was already reaching England of the dire disasters which were befalling this ill-planned expedition, but which only served to fire the ambition of aspiring adventurers.

The Christmas of 1624 was passed by Levett in the bosom of his family, at his home in Sherborne. His last Christmas had been spent on the wild shores of Maine, amid savage people, exposed to bitter blasts and restricted to meager fare; but now, at home in Merry Old England, having safely returned from a voyage, the hardships and hazards of which were appalling to homefolk, we may well believe that he gave, by his presence at the family fireside and his stories of strange adventure, a keen zest to the joy of those who shared with him the happiness of that happiest of festal days, and that wife, children and kinsfolk united in making the occasion as joyful as possible. But Levett was a man who could not
long

long remain idle, and the sounds of busy preparation, which came to him from every quarter, prompted him to action; therefore, while he was eating his Christmas dinner, and relating stories of his savage friends in Casco Bay, he was thinking of a letter to be written to Secretary Coke," which, if favorably received, would soon take him from his family and place him amid new perils. This letter was written to the Secretary on the day after Christmas, and began by speaking of the writer's change of heart several years before, and of the desire which was awakened in him to do something for the glory of God and the good of the Church and Commonwealth. Before this, Hakluyt had told of the wonderful new world peopled with degraded men, whose souls could be saved by Christian effort, and eloquent divines had repeated his words to wondering auditors. To such "Reverend and worthy friends" Levett told the noble Secretary he went for counsel, and while he asserted his confidence in being able with assistance to make his New England enterprise successful, he begged for employment of some kind, though possessed of means sufficient for his support "in a reasonable good fashion," since he could not exist in idleness, and in support of his case he adduced, as usual, a
quaint

[22. Sir John Coke was made one of the Secretaries of State on the accession of Charles First, and held this

office for fourteen years, when he retired to Melbourne House, where he died in September, 1644.

quaint maxim or two: "That an idle person lieth open to all temptations; that he is a drone among bees; that he is worse than an infidel that doth not provide for himself and his family; that every man ought to eat his own bread; that he is not worthy to live in the church or commonwealth that is not beneficial to both"; but it seems well to preserve this letter in its original form; hence it is here given in full.

TO THE RIGHT WORL SR JOHN COOKE ONE OF THE MASTERS OF
REQUESTS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MATIE

THESE DD.

Right worthy and worl :

Havinge had so suffetient tryall of your worth and love I am imbouldened at this tyme to troble you, Intreatinge to be pleased to give me leve to acnoleage my selfe unto you. About 5 or 6 yeers since it pleased god to open my eyes that I see playnly that my youth was spente in vanety and that my course of life was no way pleasinge to him (Though I could not be much taxed by any), and that I must take a new course if I ment to live for ever wth Christ in his kingdome. Ever since I have earnestly desiered that god in mercy could use me as an instrument to bringe glory to his name and some good to his Church and this Comonwelth wherin I live, when the first motion for New England was mayd unto me, I tooke Councelle of some Reverend and worthy frends who advysed me to it by all meanes and I am pswaded if I may have some assistance I should bringe that to pas wch I so much thirste after I besech you Sr. helpe me forwards wth that or some other Imployment for truly

as I now live my life is a burthen to me (I thanke god I have suf-
ficient to mayntane me in a reasonable good ffashon) but my greife
is I have no callinge to imploye my selfe in not beinge bred upp to
any thinge but the sea and in that nether no otherwyse then a
traveler and Comander of some Merchant Shippes. I praise god if
I should be put to it I could conduct a Shippe from any place of
the world (that is at this tyme discovered) into England, and I
know that is more than many Captans who have comanded some
of the Kings Shippes can doe. Youre servant Mr. Thaker can shew
you what I desyer if you would be pleased to help me forwards to
any Employment I would not only be more thankfull unto you then
ever I yet spoke of but allso would rest youre servant all the dayes
of my life for I ptest unto you it is even a death to me to live
Idle remembringe these saings in Cripture. 1. That an Idle psonne
lyeth open to all temtations that he is a drone amongst bees that
he is worse than an infidell that doth not pvide for him selfe and
his famely that every man ought to eat his owne breade that he is
not worthy to live in the Church or Comonwelth that is not some
way benifetiall to both. The Lord known my harte I desyer to
doe that for wch I was created but I want meanes to effect it. I
find a fittnesse in my selfe for imployment. I wish I were thoroughly
examened and after settled in that course wch I am capable of. I
besech you Sr pdon this my bouldnes I will importune you no more
but rest in hope of your remeberance beseching god to blesse you
wth health and much happynesse.

Your worl to be comanded

Sherborne this
26th of Decem: } 1624.

Christopher Levett

Evidently

Evidently this letter received an encouraging response, for on the 26th of the following May we find Levett writing another letter to Secretary Coke, expressing his hearty thanks to him for a proffer of employment in some service which was to follow Buckingham's return from France, whither he had gone to bring the bride of Charles First to England, shortly after the death of James, which took place on March 27, 1625. But though grateful to the Secretary for his proffer of future employment, Levett chafed under enforced idleness, and urgently pressed him for immediate service. This letter is as follows :

TO THE RIGHT WO: S^R JOHN COOKE ONE OF THE MASTERS OF
REQUESTS TO HIS MATIE THESE AT HIS LODGINGE AT THE
COURTE.

DD

Good S^r John. I thinke myselfe so much bound unto you as that I know not how to expresse my thankes enuffe but will ever endeavor to manifest it to the uttermost of my power: Truly S^r this voyage doth effect me exceedingly and I doubt not but it will pve honorable but I ptest before God I cannot now stay untill the dewkes returne though I should loose the place wherefore I besech you S^r stand my frende both for a good Shipp as allso liberty to meet hir at plimoth and god willinge in fewe dayes after I have notice from you I shall be redy. My dwellinge is at Sherborne one of the poste townes betwixt this and Plimouth so that a letter
is

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT.

31

is easily sent to me by the packts thus humbly craving pdon for
this my bouldnesse I rest

Your servant to [command]

London this 26th
of May 1625.

Chas Levett

If I cannot have liberty to meet the Shipps at Plimoth I will
come ether to London or any other place uppon notice.

At the time Levett penned this letter, an expedition was fitting out in England in which Sir Ferdinando Gorges was to take part, and Gorges was then in London, arranging with Coke's associate, Conway, business pertaining to this expedition, which Levett probably desired to join, a desire which perhaps prompted his impatient appeal to Coke.²³ Unfortunately, whatever correspondence may have passed between him and Gorges is lost, but there can be no doubt that the two were correspondents, since both were deeply interested in New England, and Gorges was the moving spirit of the corporation which made Levett an associate of his son, Robert, and conveyed to him his possessions in Casco Bay.

We lose sight of Levett, however, for a brief period, but Coke, happily, proved to be his friend, and in the famous expedition against Spain, which sailed from
England

23. An account of this expedition
may be found in Sir Ferdinando

Gorges and his Province of Maine,
Vol. I, pp. 137-145.

England October 5, 1625, Levett went as the Captain of the *Susan and Ellen*, a ship of the burden of three hundred and twenty tons, and manned with a crew of sixty-five men. This fleet, under the command of Lord Wimbledon,²⁴ consisted of eighty English and sixteen Dutch vessels, and was said to be the largest joint naval power which had ever sailed the seas. So large was it, says an old writer, that it "made the world abroad to stand astonished, how so huge a fleet could be so suddenly made ready," and yet this vast fleet and an army of ten thousand men were raised and equipped, not by Parliament, for that had been angrily dissolved by the king, but by writs sent by him to everyone in the realm who was supposed to have money, commanding them to loan him such sums as he had been informed by his agents they were able to loan. To refuse these demands was dangerous, and money poured into the coffers of the royal blackmailer in plentiful streams.

It was in this fleet, the destination of which was kept a secret, that Levett found himself, feeling, doubtless, a glow of patriotic pride as he saw it in its grandeur, and
never

24. Edward Cecil, third son of Thomas, first Earl of Exeter, born Feb. 29, 1572, and knighted by Elizabeth Sept. 18, 1601. He was one of the Councillors of the Virginia Colony May 23, 1609, and was created Lord Marshal of the Field, August

1625, and Lord Lieutenant General of the Fleet and Army the month following. He was created Baron Cecil Putney, and Viscount Wimbledon of Nov. 3, 1625, while on his unfortunate expedition to Spain. He died Nov. 16, 1638.

never for a moment realizing that the motive which caused its creation was private revenge, and the methods by which it was created were subversive of those liberties which he, in common with all Englishmen, cherished most deeply in his heart.

As the fleet entered the Bay of Biscay, it encountered the usual storms, and was buffeted by wind and wave until it seemed to those on board that their end was near; and so it was to some, for one tall ship, bearing nearly two hundred men, plunged beneath the sea and was seen no more. Orders had been given Wimbledon, before leaving home, to intercept the Spanish plate fleet, then nearing Spain, burdened with treasure, but he was no Drake, and he permitted several large ships to pass him and enter the Bay of Cadiz, where they afterwards wrought serious injury to his fleet. Time was wasted in councils of war; the Spaniards got news of his approach, and prepared to receive him; but instead of making a naval attack upon the Spanish shipping at Cadiz, which it is believed would have resulted in success, Wimbledon landed a force and attacked the fort of Puntal, which he captured; but his men now found a foe more dangerous than the Spaniards. The cellars were filled with wine, which the soldiers fell upon and drank to excess. Wimbledon, alarmed at the condition of his men, who were in

no

no condition to resist an attack, hastily gathered as many as he could reach and carried them back to the ships. Those left behind were butchered by the revengeful Spaniards. The unfortunate commander now abandoned his designs on Cadiz, and lay off shore watching for the treasure fleet, but sickness assailed his crowded ships and his men died by scores. Thoroughly disheartened, Wimbledon gave orders to return to England, "which was done in a confused manner, and without any observance of sea orders." It is perhaps proper to say that the plate fleet passed the place where the English ships had been cruising a few days before, and sailed quickly into Cadiz, while Wimbledon with his fleet, which had sailed so proudly away a few weeks before, now shattered and burdened with sick and dying men, entered Plymouth harbor, where he was received with the contempt which he so well deserved. It has been thought proper to give an account of this unfortunate expedition in which Levett was engaged, in order that the following letter, written by him to Coke after his return home, may be better understood :

TO THE RIGHT HOL^{RS} SR JOHN COOKE SECKRETERY TO HIS MA-
JESTYE THESE.

RIGHT HONORABLE

I doe once more psume to troble you with a few rude lynes pmis-
ing

ing if at this tyme my bouldnes may be pdoned that hereafter as
 occation shall be offered I will come by way of petition as my
 duty is. I mayd bould to write you tow severall letters from the
 Sowthe Cape as also at my arivall in England to send you
 such things as I had observed and though I medled wth some other
 things yet I hope your favorable construcktion is such that you
 will not condem me tow much, for if ever I speak with your Hor I
 will say more than before I write and wthall let you know that I
 have observed some things wch hath bredd a jealousy in me that
 some who as I think doth carry themselves fayerly to you yet doe
 not so truly love you as they ought. I have psumed to come home
 to my own house at Sherborne in Dorsett shire wher godwillinge I
 purpas to stay untill I heare from your Hor hopinge I doe not
 offend for by my comisshon the comand of the Shipp was comytted
 to me but as for the mewnisshon the Master Botswan and Gonner
 have indented. I must confesse that the sea service is my only
 ellement and that Imployment wch I pnsipally desier but I would
 rather chuse to be a sheppde than ever to goe in a colyer agayne
 for the Comanders of them ar esteamed and used no better than
 meare slaves (I have cause to speake but I forbare) it was gods
 mercy that I brought my shipp into England agane if your Hor please
 to aske my Lo : Cromwell²⁵ or Sr George Blunder they can tell you
 that I had nether sweet beare water wine syder nor stronge water
 for a longe tyme before I came home as allso they can tell you
 whether

25. Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle of
 the Protector. At the coronation of
 King James he was created Knight of
 the Bath, and was a member of the
 Council for Virginia in 1607. In the
 civil war he espoused the cause of
 the king, and fought against his great

nephew, though then upwards of
 eighty years of age. While sitting
 alone in his chamber before a fire, he
 fell forward, it was thought, in a
 swoon, and was so badly burned that
 he died Aug. 28, 1655, in the ninety-
 third year of his age.

whether I am a marrener or no for I kept them Company a month at the least and though I had lost my Master and had 2 mayts that can scarce write there names yet thanks be to god we kept oure reckninge better and fayled les in oure course than the Bonaventure whein my Lo : was but I give it to them that had the charge of the Shipp though they must and will confesse that I had a hand in every observation ether of sune or starr and in castinge upp every reckninge of the shippes way and course I wish I might be examined by the 4 Masters of England for the Marreners arte so as I might hereafter ether be employed in my right place or cashered for an unworthy fellow I have observed the most of the sea Capptens that was in this fleet and I say god send our kinge better then many that comanded great shippes when he shall have occation to use them It might be psumption in me to desier the Comand of one of the kinges shippes but if I had I doubt not but I should behave my selfe as well as some others and it would be as much for the safety of the shipp as if another man were in her but in regard I have no frend except such as I dear not psume to troble havinge here to fore given iust occation to be weary of doinge for me I will not thinke of any such thinge Though I must confesse if ever I goe agane to sea I would wish the best shipp in Cristendome under me and if I did not behave my selfe both wisly and valiently then would I desier nothinge for my voyage but a halter I am much ashamed of my bouldnesse yet remembringe what Abraham saide to the Lorde when he besought him to spare Sodom if by way of imitation I say let not your Hor be offended wth his servant and he will speake but this once Ther is a Shipp called the Neptewne wch was bult for New England and as I hear is now taken upp for his Maiestyes service I hope there is as much reason that I should
comand

comand hir as an other havinge spent much tyme and money about that Contry wherefore my houle sute unto your Hor is that you would be pleased if you Judge me worthy of further Imployment to put me into hir (if it be possible) or some other good Shippe in service that I may be able to doe some good service to my kinge and Contry Thus besechinge youre Honor to cause one of youre servants to let me know whether I am discharged or no (havinge no order what to doe) I rest

Youre Honors servant

to be comanded till death

Sherborne this

11th of January

} 1625.

Christopher Levett

Evidently Levett was not pleased with the Susan and Ellen, although she sailed the seas for many years after, and safely brought across the Atlantic some of the founders of New England, while the Neptune, which he longed to command, and which had been built by Gorges in the most careful manner to transport his colonists to his province of Maine, never fulfilled the great purpose for which she was designed, and brought her owner but trouble and loss. The letter of January 11th was followed by an interesting account of what Levett had observed on the expedition just described, and was doubtless written at the suggestion of Secretary Coke, who, knowing that Levett wielded a ready pen, deemed it

it wise to make use of it in obtaining the impressions of an actor in the affair, who would have no great reason to falsify. But Levett was not contented with giving an account of the expedition. His real interest was in New England, and here was an opportunity to reach the ear of the astute Secretary; so he closed his relation with a few practical suggestions how England could weaken her dread enemy, Spain, and he pointed out the part New England could be made to play in the undertaking.

The first thing he thought best to do, was to cease trade with Spain altogether, and then to employ the Navy in cutting off her trade with her northern neighbors. This done he would fortify the fishing places in New England, a country capable of being made more profitable than the West Indies, for her fisheries alone were richer than the mines of other countries. And all this, he told the Secretary, could be done at the cost of a single subsidy, for which England would receive an annual profit sufficient to maintain an army or fleet, or support the poor of the realm; though he believed, that in a score of years, there would be found no able bodied poor in the country, a belief doubtless founded upon the supposition, that, attracted by the opportunities afforded by New England for gaining wealth, the emigration thither would draw from England the poorer portion of her

her population able to work. More than this, he believed that New England would be able to furnish a ship of five hundred tons a year, except her iron work, and that she would be able to work greater damage to Spain and her West Indies than all England, because of her superior position.

Realizing that this might seem strange to his correspondent, Levett desired to be given an opportunity to appear before Parliament, or at the Council Table, for examination, that he might show the reasonableness of his views. He desired that nobody should imagine that he had any sinister end in view, since he wanted no money placed at his disposal, nor trust reposed in him, but only to "line out the path that must be trod," for he wrote, "If I can bring glory to God, honor to my Sovereign, and good to my native country, then shall I think myself more happy than if I had the whole world." This interesting document, still preserved at Melbourne House, is here placed before the reader, under the title placed upon it by Secretary Coke's own hand:

CAPTAIN LEVETT'S RELATION.

The passages of such thyngs as I conseaved worth takyng notice of.

We came from Plimoth the 5th daye of Oktober but when we were at sea the wind shooting upon us and the wether beinge very
rany

rany and thicke we put in againe and stayd untill the 8th daye before we put to sea againe and inioyed a fare wind and fare wether . untill the 12th daye beinge Wedinsday about 4 of the cloke in the after noone at which tyme it began to rayne and blow exceeding and the storme continewed all that night and pte of the next daye so that the fleight was dispsted in which storme some was cast away and others put into famouth which came not to us untill the night we left Calles. Allso there was a Catch which had 11 men in hir cast away 7 of which men I was an instrument to save and carryed them to Calles and more was saved by another shipp and the rest dyed.

But by degrees the most of the fleight mett againe some havinge mayd the Rocke²⁶ others Mountchecum²⁷ and so at last we came to the Sother²⁸ Cape, where we spent two dayes in Counsell and ther receaved orders for the mananginge of a sea feight (which I will not meddle with for convenience).

When the consultation was ended, beinge towards night we were not above 15 leages from Calles and if we had borne reasonable sale all that night we myght have bene within sight of the towne the next morning by break of day. But we lay a trip the most of the night so that it was 12 a cloke before we mayd the Iland. And if then we had borne all our sailles forth we myght have gott in in halfe a watch the wind beinge good and the wether fayere.

But

26. Cape Da Roca is the most westerly headland of Portugal, about seven leagues northwesterly from Lisbon, and in Levett's time was fortified, as, indeed, it is to-day.

27. Cape Mondego lies on the western coast of Portugal, at the mouth of the river of that name.

28. Cape St. Vincent forms the

southwestern extremity of Portugal. Nearly two centuries after Levett wrote this, viz: on Feb. 14, 1797, the failure of Wimbledon was more than offset by the gallant Jarvis, who met the Spanish fleet off this Cape and defeated it, to the joy of all Englishmen.

But as it seamed feringe we should come tow soone we put not forth all our sailes so that it was night before all the fleet came to Anker being the 22th day Satterdy. When we came into the Rode we found there the Admyrall of Spayne and about 14 Shipps more with 6 gallies.

The Earl of Essex beinge Vice Admyrall in the Swift shure (Captain whereof was Sr Sammewell Argall²⁹ a brave gent) led the way and went on so bravely that he drave both the Spanish shipps and gallies upp the river so high as they would goe towards Portroyall but he was not seconded wherfore he came to an Ancker and all the rest of the fleet.

That night about 23 shipps were sent to batter a forte called Poyntall (about 2 myles and $\frac{1}{2}$ from Calles uppon the same Iland) wherein was 6 peeces of ordnance who performed the service very well the most of that night spittinge fyer, and that the ordnance spoke thick and the bulletts stunge merely.

Now the Spanish shipps not beinge followed that night blocked themselves upp by sinkinge of 6 shipps in the way so that afterwards we could not come at them. Allso that night the Towne planted there ordnance and fortifyed themselves and the gallies and botts carryed away from the towne that which most we aymed at

29. Capt. Samuel Argall is the same officer who carried Lord Delaware to Virginia in 1610, and who commanded the Treasurer when she was sent out to Virginia in the summer of 1612, to drive out foreign invaders, and who later destroyed the Jesuit Colony at Mount Desert. In 1617 he was appointed Admiral and Deputy Governor of Virginia. Later

he was a member of His Majesty's Council for New England, and when the territory of New England was divided by lot in 1622, Cape Cod and adjoining territory fell to his share. He commanded the flag ship Swiftsure during this cruise. One writer supposes him to have died just after his return from this expedition, while another fixes the date as 1633.

at and brought soulders in stead thereof as most men did Imagen and thus they continewed all the tyme we were there.

The next morninge beinge Sonday by breake of day the greatest pte of the fleet was comanded upp before the forte who releved the former and continewed playinge uppon it all that day and so fast that by 12 acloke the forte was weary of usinge there ordnance not beinge able to stand ether to lade or to ply them. At last the Conversion one of the Kings Shipps came right under the forte within muskett shott and let fly her brod syde but was not able to come off sodenly by reason she came in ground but there lay receavinge there small shott like haille which kylled and spoiled many of hir men.

But oure Shipps shott with there ordnance so that they mayd them pull in there heads so that for halfe an howers space we could not see a man.

About 3 acloke divers of oure botts mayd redy and tooke soulders oute of the Shipps to land which when the forte saw a great many of the burgers of the town who came that morninge to assist them ran away so fast as there feet could carry them in so much that we thought the forte had bene quite left.

But when oure botts came to shore right under the forte (which was tow neare havinge roome enough to have landed further of) they put out there heads againe and plyed there small shott so fast as was possible for so few men in so short a tyme by which meanes they kylled us many and some of good ranke yet for all that some went forwards and landed close by the wall but they threw stones uppon them and kylled them so the rest of the botts went further of and landed.

Now after there landinge they had some skirmishinge with the
enemy

enemy who sallied oute of a house but they were forst to retreat towards the Towne.

And then the Captan of the Forte having quarter offered accepted therof and yelded it and were sett over the river with there musketts swords &c And thus with loss of many men and the expense of at the least 3000 great shott besides small we got a donghill wheron the Coke might have stood and crowed but could not have hurt us for I dare say that 6 colyear would have kept them play, untill we had landed our men in the bay betwixt that and the Towne.

The next day beinge Munday certan regiments marched uppon the Iland towards the bridge to have mayd that good and by the way come to one of the Duke of Madena howses wher they found about 70 butts of sacke wherof oure soulders dranke so deply that many were not able ether to goe or stand (but were left behind and had there throats cut) but the comandars seinge the inconvenience staved all the caske (and so the wine was lost) and then returned backe to the forte because they understood that the bridge was here 3 leags of.

Uppon Tewsday my Lo: of Essex³⁰ squadron was comanded to sett uppon the Shipps that was fledd upp to Portriall but when they came here then they pceaved how they were blocked upp so they came to an anchor there but could do nothing to them.

Uppon Thursday I was sent to them with this message from my Lo: and the Counsell of warr that if they pceved the designe to

30. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was the son of the unfortunate favorite of Elizabeth, and friend of Gorges, and was a lad at the time of his father's death on the scaffold. Although a man of brilliant parts, his career was an unfortunate one. It

has been well said that "he met with nothing but rocks and shelves, from whence he could never discover any safe port to harbor in." He died on the 14th of September, 1646, at the age of fifty-four years.

to be diffecult they should forth with repare to Poyntall and there take in there soulders againe for that they understood of great forces was cominge out of the Contry, wheruppon they all wayed and came and that night and the next morninge all oure soulders were imbarcked againe and the ordnance which were in the forte we brought away beinge 8 bras colverin.

Now we lay still all fryday and did nothinge but looke uppon the Towne and reseve all the shott they mayd at us.

Uppon Satterday about 10 of the cloke our Admyrall put forth a flagg of Counsell wheruppon all we Captans repared to his shipp where we gave attendance about 2 howers At last my Lo: came forth and said to Sr Thomas Love³¹ that he understood that the wind was good and that if we did not psently way ancker and begone we might lose our jorney and comanded us all to retorne to oure shippes which was all the counsell we had for that time.

But take notice that the wind was good from Thursday night to that time out it seames that they who were about my Lo: was ether ignorant or careles that they did not inform him of it before that tyme.

So we came away out of the harbor with all speed but with hevy harts and shame enough both to oure selves and Nation.

But before we were gott 3 leages of the wind was iust against us so that about Sun settinge we came to an anker in 17 fathom water, yet at midnight the wind beinge somewhat larger we wayd agane and so got of a litle further so at last through much fowle wether we gott the leight of the Sother Cape the 7 of No: wher we were forcd to ly tow and agane betwixt the degrees of 36½ and

31. Capt. Thomas Love, like Levett, was interested in the New World, being one of the Council for New Eng-

land. He was knighted Sept. 25, 1625, a few days before the sailing of the fleet.

and 37½ untill the 20th of the month to mete with the playte fleight.

Wher we lay in the most confused maner that ever was sene and contrary to all men of war courses, lying still in the day tyme and salinge in the night and thus we conteneded untill the 16th day, and then contrary to oure orders we came into 39 followinge oure Admyralls as we were comanded at the first.

Shortly after we had such fowle wether that we were disparsed agane and so we conteneded untill the 27th day and seinge 2 Shippes with flaggs in there foretopps we bore to them hopinge the greatest pte of the fleet had bene there, but there we mett with no more then 2 kings shippes and 3 more and that day blowinge litle wind I sent my bote aborde the bonaventure to know if they had any orders or knew what we should do as allso to intreat a litle beare we havinge druncke none nor beverage for 8 days before nor scarce sweet water and I thanke my Lo: Cromwell and Captan Jellburt they sent me a runlyt of 10 gallans which did me great pleasure as allso my men tould me that they had no orders nor had sene the Admyrall in 10 days before and wished for a good wind to carry them for Ingland so we kept company with these 5 shippes untill the 6th of December when we were in 46½ and that night we lost one of the shippes as it seames by tackinge in the night the wind shiftinge but for the 2 kings shippes and the other 2 we kept them company untill we came into Crooke haven in Irland where we arived the 11th of December fyndinge the rainebow and divers shippes there and others came in after us the next day.

We stayed there untill the 17th daye and then the sayde 2 kings shippes vide: the Bonaventure and the dreadnought my selfe and the
the

the Anspedwell put to sea levinge the rest behind and arrived at dartmoth the 20th day of Desember thanks be to god.

Now uppon this evill suckses I know that as it was an old coustom every one to put it of from himselfe to an other even when there was no more people in the world but Adam and Evah so it will be at this tyme no man will be the cause of it. Nether will the stayte of Ingland be free from sensure for I have herd them taxed for these things followinge.


1. ffor delayinge so much tyme before they sent away the fleet.
2. ffor sendinge it away in winter when the most of the shippes were not able to carry forth there ordnance ether by way of offence or defence.
3. The sendinge away the fleet with so litle pvetion.
4. ffor not giving the Captans there orders or Comysions before they went to sea by which much confusion might have bene pvented.
5. ffor sendinge unexperienced soulders such as was nether willinge nor able to doe service but on the contrary mewtinus.

But for my owne pte I am not of there mynds, because I am able my selfe suffetiently to answer these obiecktions as thus.

1. ffor the delayinge of tyme I know not what polesy the state had in it nether is it fitt to be known. But shure I am there might have come much good therof. ffor as it seames it bredd a security in the enemy for this yere because there was nether any fleitt at sea nor much force levied by land. ffor all men will say that if there had been any fleet abrod the Admyrall and the rest of the shippes which we found in Calles rode would not have bene there and if there had bene any land forces levied shure Calles which is a place of most importance would have bene full of soulders. And I thinke it may be proved that there was not above 500 there when we came.
- 2.

2. If the polesy of the State was to come uppon the enemy when he did not expect us, then it could not be otherwyse. if Calles was the place aymed at or any other place to the north of the strates mouth then was the tyme good enough. Yet could I wish there may be no more fleets sent forth in winter.

3. The vittell if it had bene well used and the tyme well imployed would have served us until we had taken Calles and have kept it untill a supply had bene sent.

4. Though it is strange that Captans who ar trusted with the comand of Shippes could not be trusted with sealed Comiss: to be opened at severall tymes and places and though the want of them bred much confusion in this acktion and might have bred more yet the falte was not in the state of Ingland nor none that we left in Ingland but in 

5. Though the soulders were unexperienced yet they were such as our Nation affords and such as have bene usually sent abroad at other tymes nether could I pceve that ever they were backward in goinge when there comd led them forth which was never but when they mett with the sacke nether did they then run away for many stayed untill there throats were cutt nor that they were mutinus I did not pceve though when they were full of wine there tonges as I here then ran at random.

Now if it be demanded of me what the cause of this ill suckesse might be I must answer in the first place that I feare every one of us sought oure owne ends more than gods glory and therfor it was iust with god to deny us good sucksesse.

Secondly the want of I dare not say what.

And if this will not give satisfaction if you please to redd forwards you shall se what defeckts or falings I took notice of in this
acktion

acktion and then I will leave you to iudge Allso to pardon me if I faille in my iudgment though I fere not what any can say that shall fynd them selves any way touched therin for I will say nothinge but what will be avouched by many thousands.

Such things as I conceive was faling or not well carryed in this unfortunate acktion.

1. The sendinge to sea without comyssions or orders as well for the places of randevow in case we should be pted by fowle wether. As allso for a certan course in salinge.

Though some Captans had them dd about 3 or 4 dayes after yet others wanted them untill they came at the Sother Cape and many never had any at all.

But the want of them as it fell out did no greate hurte for when we came at Calles we myssed not above 6 of our fleett.

But the want of an orderly course in salinge caused some to lose their galleries heads and bolsprits and others had there sales torne from there yeards.

And it was gods mercy that no more than 3 or 4 was cast away for the confusion was such that some had there starbord when other had there larbord taks aborde so that in the night you should have tow shipps come alonge one aganst the other and where there was nott good watch kept there was much hurte done.

2. When we came uppon the Cost of Spayne and had made the Sother Cape we lay lingringe tow longe close aborde the shore by which meanes we were discovered as appered by the lights that night all alongst the shore and which was the cause of sendinge forces to Calles as was Imagened.

3. When we might have bene before Calles by 8 or 9 acloke
in

in the morninge and so have had the day before us we came in a litle before sonne settinge.

4. When we were come in and that my Lo: of Essex had begonne bravely with the Shipps that were there and drove them upp the river that he was not seconded by which meanes he was forced to come to an ancker and so the shipps which might easely have bene taken or spoyled blocked them selves upp so as afterwards when we could we could not come at them.

5. In that we did not at oure first cominge every shipp let fly a brod syde into the Towne and then psently have landed but halfe of oure soulders which might have bene donne without any greate danger for the wind was so that it would have drive the smoke into the Towne so that they could not have mayd a shott at us but at randome and then whether we should have taken it or no Judge for it may esely be proved that there was not at that tyme above 500 soulders there nor 20 pece of ordnance mounted.

But we lay still all that night and saw them labor hard untill they had mounted there ordnance.

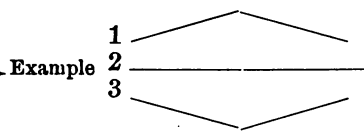
6. That no course was taken to block up the gallies in St. Mary porte which might have bene donne with 6 shipps by which negleckt they did contenewally carry soulders into the Towne and fetch away the treasure, which I am pswaded did exceedingly discourage the most of oure men but espetially such as before could thinke of nothinge but gould silkes vellvetts &c.

7. When our soulders were landed and in there march towards the bridge metinge with at the least 70 butts of sacke at the Ducke of Modena his howse that they did not make it good but spoyled it which would have releved the whole fleight many havinge nether sweet beare nor watter and amongst them my selfe was one.

8.

8. When the designe was (after oure cominge from Calles) to lye at sea about the Sother Cape to mete with the playte fleight that there was then no wyse or warrlike course taken for there we lay still in the daytyme and I think they had bene madd if they would have come nere us and in the night we sett saille so that if we should hav mett with any shipps we could not have knowne them from oure owne fleight by which meanes they might have bene gone before morninge But if they had bene experienced men of warr then would they have gone thus to worke vnde the three Admyralls to have seperated them selves with there squadrons and have agreed uppon a certan course of salinge as thus one squadron to have stood close by a wind the next to have stood 2 poynts larger and the the third 2 poynts larger then he and to have appoynted there place of randevow Then might they hav met with Shipps if there had bene any stiringe and if one squadron could not have fetched them upp they might have drive them uppon an other and if all had myssed it had bene more then ill luck.

Allso we should have knowne
certainly how to have met agane
which we could not doe as we
carried the busenes for we were



pted the day of No: and if we should have dyed for it we knewe not how to mete agane for if we had saled close aborde the shore we could not have gote of agane and shure I am it would have bene as good harboringe in the enemyes contry for 1. 2. 5 or 10 shipps.

9. If when we came from Calles we had had orders to goe home we might have bene at home in 20 or 28 dayes which if we had

had donne there might have bene many mens lives saved much vittell and more money as the freight of shipps mens wages and the shipps would have gone forth agayne in a shorte tyme if the kinge and State should have so thought it fitt.

What course I conseve is best to weaken the Spanyerd and most profitable for oure owne Nation.

1. To let him alone and not to medle with his comodyties which is nothings to speake of but wine oyle and frute nether to carry him any of oures And if he want our poore john heringe and pilcher³² but one 7 yeres I verely beleve he will nether be able to live at home nor vittell his shipps to send them abroad.

2. Block upp the passage of the Hamburgers Dunkerker by scouringe oure owne Chanell which will allso be a great security to oure owne Nation and is as I thinke an acktion of nessesety as the case now stands.

3. ffortefy our fishinge places of New Ingland and New foundland which allso I thinke must of nessesety be donne or otherwise it is to be fered we shall lose a more profitable Contry then the West Indes for I hould that the Scolls of fish there is better then the myndes elsewhere and this may be donne with litle charge (in comparison)

32. *Poor Johns and pilchards.*
The first were hake salted and dried, and the latter a kind of herring caught in large quantities on the coast of Cornwall. Pilchards, when smoked, were called by the Spaniards *fumados*, which was corrupted by the Cornish fishermen into fairmaids. Both the poor johns and pilchards were exported extensively to Spain and other Roman Catholic countries, and were

a staple article of food during Lent and on fast days. The poor johns were so named because, being a cheap and coarse article of food, they were much sought by the poor.

Massinger alludes to their use thus;

"I would not be of one religion that should command me
To feed upon poor John, when I see
pheasants
And partridges on the table."

parison) and in the very ackt we shall be enriched ffor first oure Shippinge which is like now for want of trayde to be still may be employed as allso oure marreners.

Nay I will undertake to set downe a course.

1. How with one subsedy New Ingland shall be mayd good for ever without any more charge to oure kinge and Nation.

2. That in consideration of that one charge oure Nation shall for ever receve from thence such a yerly profit as shall mayntayne a reasonable army or fleet or mayntayne all the poore.

3. That within the space of 20 yeres there shall be nether begger nor any poore people that shall need mayntinance from parishes except blynd lame and ould people that shall not be able to worke.

4. That out of this one charge they shall have every yere (after they shall be fortifyed) a shipp of 500 ton bulke and fitted with all tacklinge except Iron worke which what a strength it will be to oure Nation let all men Judge.

5. That they shall be able to doe more hurte to the kinge of Spayne and his West Indes then all Ingland besides as they are nearer and they shall be in their wake by there ordynary course of trayde to the Straytes.

Now my desire is that howsoever these thinges may seame strange and impossible to you at the first yet to spare your Censure untill I have made answer to all such obiections as shall be mayd aganst what I have sayd. And if his Maiesty would be pleased to refer me ether to the Parlament Counsell Table or other Comissioners to be examined if I doe not make good what I have sayd then let me be ponished as a trobler of the State.

Neither

Nether let any man thinke that I have any sinister end in it for I will make it appere that I doe not desire to have any money in my hands or other trust reposed in me then to sett downe the course that must be taken or to lyne out the path that must be trodd in.

And if I can bringe glory to god honor to my soverayne and good to my native Contry then shall I thinke my selfe more happy then if I had the whole world.

Nor let the proiecht be the worse thought of for proceedinge from a meane & simple psonne for I assure you when I was in the Contry of New England I took more panes (though to my cost) to fynd out the nature of the Contry the disposition of the inhabitants and the comodities which was there to be had as allso the best course to obtayn them then any man that was then in the Contry and I dare say further then any that ever was there before me Nether had any man those helpes that I had (I meane not of money) but for the advice of the most skillfull Marchants and experienced fishermen that used that trayde or contry and for the Inhabitants I thinke I know as well how to deale with them as any other.

We know not the reply of the Secretary to Levett, if one was made; but certainly his prayer for another ship was not immediately granted, since we find him some weeks later applying for a ship, to Nicholas, the Secretary and servile dependent of Buckingham, with whom it would seem he had also been in correspondence, and who was drawing from him a portion of his earnings, for so corrupt were the times, that no man could
hold

hold a place under the government without sharing his earnings with some parasite of the court. Even justice was a thing of traffic, and it had become simply a business transaction for men in place to accept bribes from those needing their favor and influence. Strangely enough, the stream of time, which has engulfed so many valuable records, has brought to us this insignificant waif, for Nicholas preserved it, and doubtless placed it in his master's hand, in order to aid his correspondent. It seems proper to present this letter here, in order to show the manner of an age, in which a man like Levett, in order to obtain a merited position, was obliged to purchase the influence of those in public office.

WORTHY SR.

I besech you remember me for a good shippe when there shal be occation. I assure you I will be very thankfull. I hope Capt: John Harvey³³ dd a token to you frome me when I had my last warrant and another when the rest of the Captans sent to you from Portsmoth, when we had oure 100 nobles. hereafter I hope to show my selfe as thankfull and observant as any other. Good Sr. stand my frend to my Lo: for his warrant for this money layd forth,

33. Several of Levett's associates, it will have been already observed, were interested in America. Capt. John Harvey had voyaged to Virginia several years before. He was not only a good navigator but also a man of affairs, and shortly after his mention

by Levett received the honor of Knighthood. Later we find him in the position of Governor of Virginia. For particulars concerning him, *vide* Virginia Carolorum, by Edward D. Neill, Albany, N. Y., 1886, pp. 36, 92, 100, 116, *et passim*.

forth, and the one halfe of it I will willingly give unto you in token of my thankfullnes. I have bene wth the Commissioners and though some of them be willinge to pleasure me yet they say there is no meanes to gett it but by the Duckes owne warrant. Thus craving pdon for my bouldnes I rest

Yours fathfull and
observant frende

Febr : this 28th
1626.

Chas Levett

Endorsed :

To his much Honored frend
Mr Neicolis Secretary to the
Ducke of Buckingha his
Grace these / 28. Febr, 1626.

CAPT. LEVETT.

When this letter was written, Buckingham was in no mood to give it attention, for he was before Parliament, struggling to defend himself against charges of wrong doing too strong to be readily overcome even by him with the power of the throne behind him, and we find Levett, in a few weeks, again appealing to Coke, this time from Stoke's Bay, on board the Susan and Ellen. His fellow captains, equally anxious with himself for employment, had rushed to London upon a rumor which had reached them of another expedition, which was soon to be organized for service in some direction,

tion, and Levett, who had been appointed an associate Commissioner with Pennington, Buckingham's most useful tool in the disgraceful plot against the protestants of Rochelle, already spoken of, was unable to leave his post to make a personal appeal to the Secretary, hence this letter.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE S^r JOHN COOKE PRINCIPALL SECK-
RATORY TO HIS MAIESTY

Right Honorable

Havinge bene an antiant suter to you for a better Shipp (then that I had the last voyage and yet doth hould beinge a Colyer) And recevinge such an honorable answer from you as I did, I have ever since lived in hope to exchange hir for some pncipall marchant or other But I confes such petty things as this is not worthy the thinking of by so honorable a psonage as youre selfe Yet I besech youre Honor seinge that a word of youre mouth will doe it make me so happy as once to comand a good shipp and then I will not only seace to troble you but allso indevor to show my selfe as I allways will be your fathfull servant. Here is a report that there are divers Marchants Shippes taken upp for the Kings service wheruppon divers of oure Captans ar gone to London, but for my owne pt I cannot stir beinge one of the Comisshoners in the absence of Cap-
tan Penington nether have I any frend to depend uppon, only I psume to declare my selfe unto youre Honor and so doth rest now and ever

Your Honors fathfull

and obedyent servant

ffrom aborde the Susan &
Ellen now ridinge in Stocks
bay this 1 of June 1626

Chas. Levett

Although

Although active in seeking employment, Levett had not forgotten his plantation in New England. What had become of his fortified house on the Island at the mouth of Portland Harbor, and the men left in charge of it, we know not. His Indian friends had long watched the sea in vain for the coming of "poor Levett," as they affectionately styled him. Levett's plan, as presented to Secretary Coke in his "Relation," was carefully formulated and laid before the king, probably through the agency of Nicholas and Buckingham, for but little could reach the royal eye without the latter's favor. But Levett well knew the importance of able advocates and Coke was his friend, and already knew something of his plans, hence he again addressed him on the subject nearest his heart.

He was wearied with the petty jealousies and strifes of the narrow world about him, and longed, like many others, for the far off New World, with its free air and blue sky, and limitless stretches of forest, mountain and plain, across the great ocean, inaccessible to the pettiness and vanity which reigned wherever the influence of the court extended, making life irksome to manly hearts.

"There is no man," says Levett, "who knows better than myself what benefit would accrue unto this kingdom by New England if it were well planted and fortified;"
but

but although he was in a fair way to achieve his purpose, he needed the assistance which Coke could easily afford him, by supporting his petition to the king. If he would not do this, Levett begged the Secretary to put him in a good ship, that he might do the king service and not remain idle. The letter is as follows:

TO THE RIGHT WOL SR JOHN COOKE PRINCEPALL SECRETARY OF
STATE AND ONE OF HIS MATIES MOST HON PREVEY COUNSELL.

Right Honorable Though I have hertofore Rç such favors from you as makes me your servant till death yet I besech you give me leave once agayne to be a houble sutor to youre honor and I hope I shall no more trouble you but be inabled thereby to shew my duty in a more suffetient manner then ever yet I could (though I have exceedingly thirsted after it)

It hath pleased god to deny a blessinge to the labors of us all that hath been Employed in his Maties service at sea And I despayre of better suckses in any shorte tyme for that I see almost all men amongst us seeke more there owne ends then gods glory or there soveraigns honor.

Youre Hor knowes what oppenion I have of New England and my grounds for the same And I must nede say the more I thinke of it the more I affeekt it. There is no man knowes better than my selfe what benifit would accrew unto this kingdome by that Contry if it were well planted and fortifyed wch makes me so desirus to tread out a path that all men may follow.

I am now in a fayre way to it only I want a little helpe to further me (wch if I may so say the putting tow of the very tope of youre
finger

finger would purchas it for me) The pteculers I have mentioned in a petition to his Matie (I could hope that my requests will not seame alltogether unreasonable or my selfe utterly unworthy to be rewarded.) But forsackinge all vayne confydence I fly unto your Hor as my only medyator unto his Matie for the obtaininge of my request Humbly beseching you to stand my friend at this tyme (and at once to make me as happy as this world can make me.) But if my sute shall seame unreasonable unto youre Honor then I besech you put me into a good Shipp that I may doe his Matie service any way and not be Idle Thus houbly craving pardon for this my tow much bouldnes in psuminge to be thus bould I rest ever your Hor fathful servant

Dartmoth this

29th of No:

1626.

Chas. Levett.

For nearly a year we lose sight of Levett amid the confusion which everywhere reigned. The Queen's Roman Catholic household was broken up by the King, who could no longer tolerate the idle and overbearing priests, who had her spiritual welfare in their keeping, and the dissolute and supercilious crew, who danced attendance upon her, and they were all packed off to Paris with much useless paraphernalia. This done, the King and Buckingham set their wits to work to devise some method to get the people, who were becoming dangerously clamorous, into better humor. One of their
acts

acts was especially censured, the odium of which attached principally to Buckingham, namely, the attempt to force English Protestants to destroy their French brethren of Rochelle, and it was thought that by fitting out an expedition to support the latter against the King's brother-in-law of France, the popular mind would be turned in their favor. It was an artful scheme, and Buckingham bent all his energies to put it into operation. A fleet of seventy-six vessels was gathered, and sailed with a great show of piety in the early summer of 1627, but when it appeared before Rochelle, so much was the English King and Buckingham distrusted, that the people of that city refused to permit it to enter their harbor; hence Buckingham turned away, and falling upon the isle of Rhé, laid siege to the castle of St. Martin. After vain attempts to capture this formidable fortress, he was obliged to abandon it with the loss of a large portion of his army, and to return to England to face greater unpopularity than ever.

We can hardly understand why Levett was not with Buckingham in this expedition, but we know that he was in England awaiting some response to his petition, and probably making constant efforts to draw support to it; indeed, we find him writing to Coke, shortly before the return of Buckingham's ill-starred expedition, enclosing

ing a letter from "a servant in New England," probably one of the men left by him to keep his house in Casco Bay.

Chafing under disappointment, Levett forcibly expressed his regret that the King should permit such a country to fall into the hands of an enemy who would, by its possession, be as well provided for building and furnishing ships as any prince in the world; and he assured the Secretary that if the King and Council thought it worth preserving, he was as capable of undertaking its fortification as any one of the King's subjects. "I beseech your Honor," he wrote, "let not the multiplicity of weighty and chargeable affairs, which are now in hand, cause this to be neglected," for, if this should be done, "much damage and dishonor must certainly ensue." He closed by expressing his readiness to attend, upon notice, an audience in London. The full text of this letter is here presented.

TO THE RIGHT HOBLE SR JOHN COKE PRINCEPALL SECRETORY TO
HIS MATIE AND ONE OF HIS HONORABLE PREVY COUNSELL

THESE

Right Honorable

I have a letter from a gent (though a servant of myne in New
Englande) wch though it conserne my owne pteculer very much
yet in my understandinge it doth allso conserne the kinge and state
And

And therefore I thought good to send it to your honor leavinge the consideration of it to youre wisdom. Only give me leave to say this much that in my oppenyon it were greate petty his Matie should lose such a Contry but a thousand tymes more petty that his enemy should enjoy it for if he should I am shure he would be as well fitted for buildinge of shippes as any Prince in the world and not the worst pvided for vittlinge of his shippes. Of what consequence this may be you know best. But if in the Judgment of his Matie and you the Lords of his Counsell it be a Contry worth the houldinge Then give me leve to speke bouldly (yet under correcktion) I know as well how to make that Contry good against an enemy as any Subieckt his Matie hath and can doe it wth a tenth pte of the Charge that an other shall demand nay wth no Charge at all in Comparrison if a fite tyme be taken I have knowne divers Marchants under goe a greater charge in a months tyme for pvention. I besech youre Honor let not the multeplessity of weightie and Chargable affayres wch are now in hand cause this to be negleckted ffor I assure you if it be not spedely put in execution much damage and dishonor must certainly ensue If youre honor thinke me worthy of Audyence I shall be redy to attende uppon notice wch I may spedely have dwellinge in Sherborne a porte Towne in the Rode to Plimoth. Thus houbly cravinge pdon I rest ever your Honors most obedyent servant

Sherborne this }
10th of October : } 1627

Christopher Levett

Buckingham, returning from his failure at Rhé, landed at Plymouth, and proceeded at once to London, passing through

through Sherborne, where Levett saw him, and in spite of his preoccupation, managed to get his ear, and speak a few words in behalf of the New England project. This he immediately communicated to Coke, and told him that Buckingham desired one of his gentlemen to call his attention to this subject when he reached London. Levett also enclosed a plan setting forth his views relative to New England, and pressed the Secretary to examine it. If desired, he would visit London, but if nothing was done, he declared that he should be forced to give orders to those in his employ, who were engaged in fishing in New England, to return home. The letter to Coke, with the enclosure, is as follows:

TO THE RIGHT HOBLE SIR JOHN COKE PRINCEFALL SECRATORY TO
HIS MATIE AT HIS LODGINGE IN THE COURTE

THESE

Right Honorable

I made boulde to send unto you a letter wch came from a servant of myne in New England but have heard nothings since how you stand affeeked to the busenes wch makes me presume once more to solicett youre Honor to be a frend unto it And the rather for that uppon Wednesday last att night I did acquaint my Lord ducke in pte with it who seamed to like it well and wisht Mr Henry Croo to put him in mynd of it when he came to London I besech your Honor wthall to take notice of this enclosed and if you signify unto me that you would have me come upp about it I will not be longe
absent

absent otherwyse I shall be inforced to give order to my servants to come away wth there shippes that ar now going to fish there thus hopinge of youre Honors favorable acceptance of my dutye I rest

Your Honors obedyent servant

Sherborne this
17th of No: 1627

Chas. Levett

[Inclosure.]

The tyme of danger is from the begininge of June to the last of January or therabouts All wch tyme there is no English shippes uppon that coste ffor the fleet of ffishermen doe comonly arive there in January and ffebr: The fishinge contenewes untill the begininge of May and by the ende of that month comonly they dept

The maner of the ffishermen is to leave there shallops in the Contry untill the next season every shipe in that harbor when they fish There may be of them in all about 3 or 400 and if they want there botts they may easily be pvented.

If an enemy should come it is likly they will put into the first harbor they make for it is dangerous lyinge longe for shippes uppon that coste wthout extraordinary good pilotts. The coste beinge full of depe bayes broken islands and souncken rocks Now they can come into no harbor but they shall fynde botts for the transportinge of there men amongst the costes to any place they desier wherin is the greatest danger for they cannot march by lande And it is not like that there will come any great flett to take up many harbors the planters beinge in all not above 300.

The first thinge wch I conseve fitt to be done is that all men
be

be comanded at the end of there voyage to bringe all there shallops into one harbor and there to have them untill the next yeare And the fittest harbor I conceive to be quacke (but by me in my discovery named Yorke) beinge the most princepall in the Contry and in the mydst of all the fishinge.

The next thinge is to fortifye that harbor wch may be donne wth 4 shippes wherof three to be colyers of 16 pece of ordnance and one good Marchant man.

The next is to draw all the planters to that place bt if that shall be found unfittinge then to give them some arms and mewnshon for there defence.

Now though there be no danger of enemyes untill June yet I hould it the best tyme to send away there shippes before the last of the psent month for these reasons.

ffirst by this meanes they beinge in the Contry all the fishinge season there is no doubt by gods helpe but all the charges of the voyage will be defrayed at the worste.

Secondly they shall have the helpe of all the fishermen at divers tymes to worke about fortifications beinge that they shall therby be more secured to use there trayde more frely wch thinge will be very advantageous there beinge at the least 4000 men every fishinge season in the Contry who ar able to doe much in a little tyme and wthoute any charge to his Matie.

These thinges I doe wish may be spedely considered of and spedely put in execution least when it be tow layte it be repented of.

And to conclud thus much I will say under corecktion If his Matie please to give me Comishon to take 4 of these shippes wch ar now in his service maned with 300 men such as ar fitt for that employment

employment fitt them wth all thinges nessesary for a fishing voyage (as all merchant shipps ar wch goe thether to fish) and vittell for 12 months compleate then by gods assistance I will undertake to doe these things.

1. Doe my best endeavor to take prises beinge likly to mett wth divers in the way both outward and homeward bounde.

2. Secure that coste from enemyes or at least that harbor untill the flett of fishermen (who ar now about 40 or 50 saile and reasonable stronge) come agane.

3. By the end of May next pvide so much fish and oyle as shall countervalle the charge of all the vittell and mewnyshon and after wards bringe home so much as shall pay all waiges and defray the rest of the charge

4. Doe my best to surprise the bancke fishers wch if I faille to doe lett me not only be cashered with out pay or gratewety but also be imprisoned all the dayes of my life—pvided allwayes that the casualties of the season and extraordinary and unusuall crosses be excepted and that it may presently be sett on foote that soe the next fishing season be not lost there being now tyme suffetient for fittinge of all thinges as I will undertake

No: the 17th
1627.

Christoph. Levett.

It is pleasing to find that Levett's persistence at last bore fruit. His project was brought before the King and Council, probably explained by himself in person, for we find, shortly after this last letter to Coke, an extraordinary

traordinary proclamation issued by the King, directed to the ecclesiastical authorities, requiring the churches of the realm to take up a contribution in behalf of his colonial enterprise in Casco Bay. That such a contribution should have been ordered by the King, and sanctioned by the Privy Council, is remarkable. This unique instrument sets forth important facts in Levett's scheme. We are informed by the King, that Colonial enterprises in New England having been interrupted by his difficulties with France and Spain, it had become necessary, in order to secure English interests there, to render assistance to those who had entered upon such enterprises, and that, as his "well beloved subject," Captain Christopher Levett, was willing to risk to the utmost both life and estate in order to establish a colony in New England, and was well acquainted with the Indians, he had thought best not only to make him governor of New England, but to order churchmen to contribute means to aid him in his undertaking, the success of which would strengthen the kingdom, and enable the poor and ignorant savages to acquire a knowledge of the true faith; a work which especially commended itself to the King's affection.

This interesting document should engage our attention.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES by the grace of god king of England, Scotland, Fraunce & Ireland defender of the faith &c. To all to whom these pnts shall come, Greeting.

Whereas we have benn enformed that in respect of the differences betweene us & the kings of Spaine & Fraunce, divers of or loving subjects as well such as are adventurers in the plantaçon of Newe England, in America, as such as are well enclyned to become adventurers there, are soe much deterred and discouraged both from proceeding wth what is begun & what is by them intended, that except some spiall care be now taken, and some psent meanes raysed, for ye securing of the Fishing there, and the safetie of those Coasts from forreigne enymies; They wch have already adventured in that plantaçon, are likely to wth drawe their estates and people from thence and those that happily may desire themselves & fortunes in the same are by this meanes altogeather discouraged and disabled, to proceed to their intençon; And whereas or many urgent occasions doe at this prsent soe farr engage us for the necessary defence of this or Realmes and dominions as we cannot in due time give any assistance, or provide for the securing of those remote pts wth such succor and releife as may prove requisite, in a case of that importance, whereby that plantaçon soe happily begun and likely to prove soe advantagious and profitable, to vs and or subjects, in regard of the many comodities & Mchandize thence to be had, and the store of Tymber there groweing, very necessary for the provision of Shipping for the defence of or kingdomes is likely to be utterly lost and abandoned to the dishonor of us and or naçon and the advantage & encouragement of or enymies; And whereas we have benn enformed that or welbeloved subject Capteyne
Christopher

Christopher Levett being one of the Councell for the said plantaçon, and well knoweing the said country and the harbors of the same, and the strength and disposiçon of the Indians inhabiting in that Country, hath undertaken and offred to add unto his former adventure there all his estate, and to goe in pson thither, and by gods assistance either to secure the planters from Enimies, keepe the possession of the said Country on or behalfe, & secure the fishing for or English shippes, or else to expose his life & meanes to the uttermost pill in that seruice, Uppon wch his Generous and free offer we have thought fitt, by the advise of or privy Councell, and appointed him to be Governor for us in those parts, And because the Charge in prparing furnishing and setting forth of Shippes for this service at the first, wilbe very greate, soe as wthout the helpe and assistance of others (well wishers of those plantaçons,) those designes cannot be soe well accomplished, as we desire;

Now knowe yee that we out of the love and affecçon wch we beare to works of this nature and espially for the propagaçon of the true religion wch by this meanes may be effected, by converting those Ignorant people to Christianitie;

Have thought fitt by the advise of or sd privye Councell to commend this soe pious a worke to the consideraçon and assistance of all or loving and weldisposed subjects; not doubting but they, (well weighing the necessitie of this worke and considering the prsent troubles of these times) wilbe ready and willing to yield such assistance to the same by their voluntary contribuçon towards the effecting thereof, as maie in some measure helpe to defray the prsent Charge, now to be dispended for the accomplishing thereof, for the honnor and safetie of this kingdome and the upholding of the said plantaçon; Wherefore or will & pleasure is and we doe by
these

these pnts will require & comaund all and singlar Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons & deanes, wthin their severall dyoces and Jurisdicçons, that forthwith uppon sight of these or lres patents they comaund & cause the same or the true breife thereof to be read and published in all the severall pish Churches of & wthin their severall dyoces preincts, and Jurisdicçons, and that the Churchwardens of every severall pishe shall gather & collect all such some and somes of money, as shalbe freely and voluntarielye given & contributed to the purposes aforesaid, and the same being gathered and collected, forthwth to pay and deliver over unto the said Capteyne Christopher Levett or to such person or psons as shalbe by him in writing under his hand and seale thereunto authorised, and appointed, whom we doe thinke most fitt in regard of his said imployment to be trusted wth the disposing of the same. In witnes whereof we have caused these or lres to be made patents for the space of one whole yeare next ensueing the date of these pnts to endure.

Witnes &c.

Exr per RO HEATH.

Maie it please yor most Ext Matie

This conteyneth yor Mats graunt for a generall and free contri-
buçon to be collected of such of yor Mats subjects as shalbe there-
unto willing for the mayntennce of the plantaçon in Newe England,
and to be paid to Capteyne Christopher Levett whom yor Matie is
pleased to trust therewth in respect of yor Mats Resoluçon to ap-
poynt him Governor there

And is donne by order from the Councell Board, signified by
Sr Willm Beecher.

RO. HEATH.

Endorsed.

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT.

71

Endorsed. February 1627. Expr. apud Westmr undecimo die
Februarii Anno R. R. Carol Tertio

WOODWARD Dep^{te} May.

Collection for New England.

11th February 1627.

Mr. Caldwell. To passe by the lo: Conway.

The contribution in the churches was taken up as directed by royal authority, and the proceeds paid to Levett; but what the amount was is not recorded, nor do we know what steps Levett took towards ultimating his plans. It is probable that the contributions were insufficient to afford him the necessary support; indeed, the low ebb to which the finances of the people had been reduced by misgovernment; the unpopularity of the King and his chief adviser, and the shadowy nature of the enterprise which the people were called upon to assist, were such as to afford uncertain ground upon which Levett could reasonably build his hopes. He, however, prepared an extended account of his explorations and experiences in New England, which were printed by William Jones, who had printed his book on Timber Measures. This book, which will always possess a deep interest for the historical student, was published in 1628.

On April 19th of this year, we find Levett before
Parliament

Parliament with a petition respecting the two bridges leading into Doncaster, a town on the river Don about thirty miles southwest from the city of York. These bridges were called the Friars Bridge, then comparatively new, having been carried away by a flood in 1614 and shortly after rebuilt, and St. Mary's bridge, now known as the Mill Bridge, and furnished an important entrance to the town.

Among his many grants of privileges, King James, in 1605, granted a patent to William, the uncle of Christopher Levett, to collect tolls at these bridges, but for some reason, the patent lay dormant until 1618, when Levett, began to enforce his rights.

So far as we can learn, Levett continued to collect tolls until 1628, when the clamor against monopolies reached the little town of Doncaster, and its citizens suddenly awoke to the fact that they had a monopoly in their midst, and they at once declared it a grievance.

It would seem that Christopher Levett had some interest in the patent of his uncle; hence his petition to Parliament, which, however, was not retained, Parliament being then in no mood to favor anything which savored of monopoly; but a few weeks later a petition against the objectionable patent was considered, and soon after it was declared to be "a Grievance to the Subject,

Subject, both in the Creation and Execution," and the good people of Doncaster, without doubt, greatly to their satisfaction, were able to cross their bridges free of toll.³⁴

On the twenty-third of August, Buckingham was stricken down by the knife of an assassin, and the King found himself in straits all too perilous to help any subject, however "well beloved." It was a season of terrible agitation, and yet we may believe that Levett, in spite of it all, was busy with his scheme of settlement in New England whither so many anxious minds were turning, though we may not be able to distinguish clearly amidst the turmoil and confusion, the man who could entertain his

34. The following are extracts from the Journals of Parliament, British Museum ;

1628, 19^o Aprilis, 4^o Caroli, Regis. A Petition from Christopher Levett read. Upon Question this Petition not to be retained.

27 Maii. A Petition against Levett read ; And he to be sent for to attend this House and bring his Patent* with him ; for this to be heard the *Wednesday* seven night after Whitsuntide.

12^o Junii. The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of Yorkshyre and Yorke to examine Levett's (Patent) for the Toll, this Afternoon, in the Court of Wards.

*For a Toll at Two Bridges in Yorkshire.

Sir Tho. Wentworth reporteth the Business, concerning the Toll granted to *Levett* for Two Bridge in Yorkshyre, to him and his Heirs, to be holden in socage of East Gree', at 20s Rent, with Power to seize Goods, &c.

No Grant hereof, till 20 Jue, nor any Fruit of it, till 15o Jue. The Bridges ancient, in good repair, some particularly bound to repair it. This Patent adjudged by the Committee a Grievance to the Subject, both in the Creation and Execution.

Upon Question so adjudged here, The Drawing up of a Petition to the King, concerning this Grievance, referred.

his companions in suffering with merry old sayings, while enduring the rigors of a New England winter without roof, bed or board. We may believe this, because, amid the confusion which reigned in old England during this entire year, we know that plans were elaborated for a colony on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and John Endicott, with a band of hardy men holding a patent from the Council for New England, crossed the Atlantic and laid the foundations of Salem.

Just what interest Levett had in this undertaking we may never know, yet when Winthrop cast anchor in Salem Harbor on that ever memorable twelfth of June, 1630, he records that "Mr. Pierce came aboard us and returned to fetch Mr. Endicott, who came to us about two of the clock, and with him Mr. Skelton and Capt. Levett."³⁵

We may well enquire how Christopher Levett came to be at Salem at this time. His interest in New England was certainly such as to bring him naturally into relations with others possessing a similar interest; besides, the wide publicity which the king's proclamation gave him, followed by the publication of his book—acts which may have directed the thoughts of Endicott and his associates New Englandward—must have emphasized the importance

35. *Vide* the History of New England by John Winthrop, Boston, 1853,

Vol. I, p. 30.

tance of Levett's council to those who contemplated emigration to a land, which to most was a *terra incognita*, but with which he was well acquainted.

It is not strange then, that Christopher Levett was one of the first to greet Winthrop upon his arrival in New England. He must, however, already have disposed of his patent in Casco Bay, which, we know, passed into the possession of Plymouth merchants.

When Winthrop met Levett at Salem, he was there in command of a ship, in which he sailed shortly after for England, bearing letters from Winthrop's company to their friends at home. Levett, however, was not again to behold the green shores of old England. On the voyage home he died, and, instead of reposing with his kindred in Yorkshire, he found burial in the great ocean which has entombed so many brave adventurers.

The letters which he was taking home from Winthrop's colony never reached their destination. By some means they fell into the hands of their enemies, Morton, Gardiner and others, and when these men petitioned the Privy Council on December 19, 1632, to enquire into the methods by which the colonists' charter from the king was procured, and the abuses practiced under it, some of these letters, which contained indiscreet references to the Church government in England, were
brought

brought into requisition to sustain the action of the petitioners. On the twenty-second of the January following our last unsatisfactory glimpse of Christopher Levett at Salem, his widow made a sad journey from Sherborne to Bristol, where his ship had brought his personal effects.³⁶

36. Frances, the widow of Christopher Levett, administered on his effects on Jan. 22d, 1630, as will be seen from the following, extracted from the Probate records of Bristol: "LEVITT, Christofer L.

4 Admon Act 1631-33.

Mense January 1630, Bristoll.

Vecesimo secundo die emanavit commissio francisce Levitt viduæ relicte Christoferi Levitt nuper de Sherborne in comitatu Dorsett defuncti habents &c. ad administrand bona intra et credita dci defuncti de bene &c. coram mris Henrico Hartwell et fferdinando Nicoll cllico vigore commissis in ea pte emanat &c, 29 li 08 s 10 d."

This was a little over seven months after he welcomed with Endicott, on the deck of the Arbella, the arrival of Winthrop in Salem Harbor. Thirteen months later, Winthrop records the following:

"By this ship," the William, "we had intelligence from our friends in England, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason (upon the instiga-

A few

tion of Sir Christopher Gardiner, Morton and Ratcliff) had preferred a petition to the lords of the privy council against us, charging us with many false accusations, but through the Lord's good providence, and the care of our friends in England, (especially Mr. Emanuel Downing, who had married the governour's sister, and the good testimony given on our behalf by one Capt. Wiggin, who dwelt at Pascataquack, and had been divers times among us,) their malicious practice took not effect. The principal matter they had against us was, the letters of some indiscreet persons among us, who had written against the church government in England, etc., which had been intercepted by occasion of the death of Capt. Levett, who carried them, and died at sea." (*Vide* the History of New England, Vol. I, p. 119.)

The following extract from a letter written by Rev. Henry Paynter to John Winthrop, Jr., Mar. 14, 1632, also refers to the death of Levett. "In my letter to your honored father is enclosed one from a godly gentle-

A few brief lines in the Probate records of Bristol, the home of Cabot, furnish us with the last vestige of the author of "A Voyage into New England," and the first English owner of the soil upon which now stands the city of Portland.

woman and and a deere frinde of my
wifes, concerninge some goods of
Capt. Levett, her deceased husband,
du unto her and her children." (*Vide*
Mass, Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p 118.) Un-

fortunately this letter of Levett's
wife, enclosed in Paynter's letter, has
not been preserved with the Gover-
nor's papers.



A
VOYAGE
INTO NEVV
ENGLAND

Begun in 1623. and ended
in 1624.

Performed by **CHRISTOPHER LEVETT**,
his Maies Woodward of *Somerset-shire*, and
one of the Councell of New-England.



Printed at LONDON, by **WILLIAM IONES**,
and are to be sold by *Edward Brewster*, at the signe
of the Bible in Pauls Church yard.
1628.



THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

TO THE RIGHT Honorable, George Duke of Buckingham, his Grace, *Thomas Earle of Arroundell and Surrey, Robert Earle of Warwicke, John Earle of Houldernes*, and the rest of the *Counsell for New-England*.³⁷



AY it please your Lordships, that whereas you granted your Commission unto Captaine *Robert Gorges*, Governour of *New England*, Captaine

37. The Council for New England was incorporated Nov. 3, 1620, under the title of "*The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing, of New England in America*," and was virtually a re-incorporation of the members of the Northern Colony of Virginia, in order to place it on an equal footing with its aggressive rival, the Southern Colony, whose charter had already been twice enlarged.

Its membership comprised forty

persons, thirteen of whom were noblemen of high rank, and they were empowered to hold territory in America extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels of north latitude, which extensive domain they were authorized to colonize and rule.

The members named in this "*Epistle Dedicatorie*" were among the most powerful, viz: George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the corrupt favorite of James and Charles I, who, at the early age of thirty-six years, met a

taine *Fraunces West*,³⁸ myselfe, and the Governour of *New Plimoth*,³⁹ as Counsellors with him, for the ordering and

violent death at the hand of an assassin; Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, a member of the King's Privy Council in 1607, and who after an active public life died at Padua, Italy, Oct. 4th, 1646; Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, born in 1587, who was an active promotor of colonization during his eventful life, which ended April 19th, 1658; and John, Earl of Holderness, born 1580, died 1625. Within the immense territory embraced by its charter, the Council could establish such laws as it thought best for its interests, and could even extend its jurisdiction to ships coming to and going from its possessions. It was a great monopoly, and was so regarded by the callow reformers of the period. Prior to Smith's visit to the region embraced by the Council's charter, it had at first been called Norumbega, but later Northern Virginia. The name, New England, first appears on Smith's map of 1614, and to this redoubtable navigator its origin is undoubtedly due, although a late writer claims that previous to this date, the title had been used. (*Vide* Henry Hudson in Holland, by Henry C. Murphy, pp. 43-66.) The author bases this statement upon a map published at Amsterdam in 1612, where the title, Nova Albion appears. With regard to the

origin of the word, Norumbega, there exists a wide divergence of opinion. Several writers claim it to be a native term, and even attempt to outline its etymology. (*Vide* Thevet's *Cosmographie*, Vol. II, p. 1009. Vetromile's *History of the Abnakis*, p. 49.) It has also been claimed to be a relic of Norse occupation, like several other things which only a convenient theory, unassailable for want of knowledge respecting it, can father. One of these writers derives it from *Nor-rænbygda*, meaning the Norse Country. (*Vide* *Norambugue*, *Decouverte d'une quatrième colonie Pre-Columbienne dans le Nouveau Monde*, par Eugène Beauvois, pp. 27-32, and discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega, by Eben N. Horsford, p. 19.) Much has been written concerning its extent. It is now well known that the Indians were not in the habit of giving names to large districts, and we may be quite sure that this name was never applied by them to the extensive territory depicted on old maps, the bounds of which are so indefinite, and that if the word is of Indian origin, it had only a local application. Presenting itself in cartology in 1529 as *Aranbega*, it assumes from time to time a variety of forms too puzzling to afford elements from which the etymologist can construct

and Gouverning of all the said Terretories, wherein wee
haue ben diligent to the vttermost of our powers, as we
shall

a satisfactory theory. (*Vide* the map of Hieronimus Verrazano, 1529, also for various particulars respecting it, DeCosta's Northmen in Maine, p. 44. Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. VIII, p. 315. The Magazine of American History for May, 1881, p. 392. Sewall's Ancient Dominions of Maine, p. 31.)

38. Captain Francis West, whose brief connection with the early political history of New England deserves a passing mention, was the fourth son of Sir Thomas and Lady Anne (Knollys) West, and was born 28 October, 1586, at Buckhurst, Withycombe, Sussex. ("Bennett Roll" Magazine of American History, ix, 18, 46.) His father, the second Lord De La Warr, was himself one of the illustrious members of that family, related to the Royal Houses of England, France, Scotland and Normandy, and which gained a merited prominence in the early colonization of America, bequeathing its name to one of our sovereign states. Captain Francis was "an ancient planter" of Virginia, emigrating thither in 1608, (Colonial State Papers, ii, 15) and as early as 1610, was a local magistrate, governing "at the Falles." (True Declaration of Virginia, 1610.) He held for many years a membership in the Provincial Council, being one of the sub-

scribers to the stock of the Virginia Company, (Declaration of the State of Virginia, 1620). In 1623 he was commissioned Admiral of New England as is shown by this entry in the Records of the Council for New England, p. 21. "It is agreed on that there shall bee a Commission granted to Capt. Francis West to goe to New England, Capt. of the Shippe called ye plantaçon, and Admirall for that Coast dureing this Voyage, And this Clause to be insirted in his Com. that hee hath power to take any to Associate him there for the dispatch of his Employ^{mts}, according as hee shall think meete. And that a pattent bee granted to Capt Thomas Squibb, to be ayding and Assisting to the Admirall.

Sr. Ferd. Gorges is desired to draw upp Capt. West's Instructions."

Shortly after his voyage to New England he returned to Virginia, where he resumed his connection with the political affairs of the province. Upon the death of Sir George Yardley, Governor of Virginia, November, 1627, he was chosen by his associates to fill the vacancy, in the absence of Sir John Harvey, who was named in Yardley's commission as his eventual successor. (Bancroft, United States, (1876,) i, 152, comp. Burk, Virginia, ii, 22, 23.) This

shall be ready to render an account vnto your Honors, when you shall be pleased to require vs thereunto. In the meane time, I thought it my dutie to present vnto your viewes, such obseruation as I haue taken, both of the Countrey and People, Commodities & Discommodities: as also, what places are fit to settle Plantations in, in which not, what courses are fit in my vnderstanding to bee taken, for bringing Glory to God, Hounour to our King & Nation, good vnto the Commonwealth, & profit to all Aduenturers and Planters: which I humbly beseech your Lordships to accept of, as the best fruits of a shal-

low

office he retained for nearly two years till Harvey arrived, when he probably returned to England and became a privateersman, bringing captured ships into English ports as prizes during the next two years, upon letters of marque. (Domestic Calendar, (Charles 1) 1627, 1628, 287, 1629, 1631, 726.) On the 29 May, 1630, he is spoken of as "now in England." (Colonial State Papers, v, 93.)

In the quarrel between Harvey and the Councillors he took part against the Governor, but signed the treaty of peace, 20 December, 1631, between the factions. He last appears on record at a meeting of the Council of Virginia in February, 1633. There is a family tradition that he met his death by drowning.

39. William Bradford, the second governor of the Plymouth Colony, whose record of the affair is as follows: (*Vide* History of Plymouth Plantation, by William Bradford, Boston, 1856, p. 141.) "About ye later end of *June* came in a ship, with Captaine Francis West, who had a commission to be admirall of New England, to restraine interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish & trade without a license from ye Counsell of New England, for which they should pay a round sume of money. But he could doe no good of them, for they were too stronge for him, and he found ye fisher men to be stuberne fellows."

low capacitie: so shall I thinke my time and charge well imploied, which I haue spent in these affaires.

I haue omitted many things in this my discourse, which I conceiued to be Impertinent at this time for me to relate, as of the time of my being at Sea, of the strange Fish which wee there saw, some with wings flying aboue the water, others with manes, eares, and heads, and chasing one another with open mouths like stone Horses in a parke, as also of the steering of our Course, the obseruation of the Sunne and Starres, by which the eleuation of the Pole is found, the degrees of latitude knowen, which shews how far a ship is out of his due course, either to the North or South; likewise of the making of the land at our arriuall vpon the choast of *New England* how it did arise and appeare vnto vs; how every Harbour beares one from another vpon the point of the Compas: and what Rockes and dangers are in the way: how many fathom water is found by sounding at the entrance of euery Harbour: and from how many of the seuerall winds all the Harbours are land-locked. But by this meanes I thought I should not only be tedious, but also be in danger of losing myselfe, for want of fit phraises and sound iudgment, in the Arts of the Mathematickes and Nauigation, (being but a young Scholler though an
ancient

ancient trauiler by sea,) and therefore thought better to omit those, then anything I haue relate.

Thus beseeching God to blesse your Honors, I rest at your Lordshippes seruice.

CHISTOPHER LEVETT.



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A VOYAGE INTO NEVV ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

*Containes my discovery of diverse Riuers and Harbours,
with their names, and which are fit for
Plantations, and which not.*

THE first place I set my foote vpon in *New Eng-land*, was the Isles of *Shoulds*,⁴⁰ being Ilands in the Sea, about two Leagues from the Mayne.

Vpon these Ilands, I neither could see one good timber tree, nor so much good ground as to make a garden.

40. These islands were first described by Champlain in 1606, who called them "*isles asses hautes*." Nine years later Capt. John Smith bestowed upon them his own name. They were called Smith's Isles for several years, when shortly before Levett's visit we find them called the "Ilands of Sholes." Who first bestowed upon them this name, which they still retain, is unknown. They

The
are bare masses of ragged, granite rock, thickly strewn with boulders; destitute of trees but clothed in places with straggling bushes, which cling tenaciously to crevices in the flinty rock. They lie about six miles from the shores of New Hampshire and are much frequented by summer tourists, with whom they are deservedly popular.

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The place is found to be a good fishing place for 6 Shippes, but more cannot well be there for want of convenient stage-roome, as this yeare's experience hath proved.

The Harbor is but indifferent good. Vpon these Ilands are no Savages at all.

The next place I came vnto was *Pannaway*,⁴¹ where one *M. Tomson*⁴² hath made a Plantation, there I stayed about one Moneth in which time I sent for my men from the East: who came over in diverse Shippes.

At this place I met with the Governour,⁴³ who came
thither

41. Odiorne's Point, near the mouth of the Piscataqua.

42. David Thompson, a Scotchman, was the agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason. He had established himself on the southerly bank of the mouth of the Piscataqua, at a place called by the Indians Pannaway, shortly before Levett's arrival in the country. He remained at this place but two years, when he removed to an island in Boston Harbor which still preserves his name, where he died three years later, leaving a wife and one child.

In the Trelawny Papers is an interesting letter signed by Amias Maverick, wife of Samuel Maverick. This letter, probably the only one of the writer's in existence, revealed for the first time the Christian name of

Maverick's wife, which otherwise might never have been known, and now Frank W. Hackett, Esq., has made the further discovery, that Amias Maverick was the widow of David Thompson, to whom she was married at Plymouth, England, on July 13th, 1613, and that her family name was Cole. For a particular account of Thompson, *vide* Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1876, pp. 358-381. *Ibid* for 1878, p. 214. Records of Massachusetts, by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M. D., Vol. III, p. 129 *et seq.* Chronicles of the Pilgrims, Alexander Young, Boston, 1864, p. 350 *et seq.* Annals of Portsmouth, by Nathaniel Adams, Portsmouth, 1825, p. 10.

43. Gov. Robert Gorges.

thither in a Barke which he had from one *M. Weston*⁴⁴ about 20 dayes before I arived in the Land.

The Governour then told me that I was joyned with him in Commission as a Counsellor, which being read I found it was so. And he then, in the presence of three more of the Counsell, administered unto me an oath.

After the meeting of my men, I went a coasting in two boats with all my company.

In the time I stayd with *M. Tomson*, I surveyed as much as possible I could, the wether being vnseasonable, and very much snow.

In those parts I saw much good Timber. But the ground it seemed to me not to be good, being very rockey and full of trees and brushwood.

There is great store of fowle of diverse sorts, wherof I fed very plentifully.

About two English miles further to the East, I found
a great

44. Thomas Weston was a London merchant, one of those by whose aid the Pilgrims had been enabled to emigrate to America. The year before Levett's arrival he had undertaken to plant a colony at Wessagussett, now known as Weymouth, but his project had miscarried, and he had suffered considerable hardships. He had been engaged in fishing and trade along the coast without the consent of the Council, and upon the arrival of the Governor,

Robert Gorges, who found his vessel in the harbor of Plymouth, had been called to account by him. Governor Bradford, however, acted as a peacemaker and Weston escaped the penalty of an "interloper." After an eventful career his end is thus recorded: "He dyed afterwards at Bristoll, in ye time of the warrs, of ye sickness in yt place." *Vide* History of Plymouth Plantation, by William Bradford, Boston, 1856, note p. 164.

a great River and a good harbour called *Pascattaway*.⁴⁵ But for the ground I can say nothing, but by the relation of the *Sagamore* or King of that place, who told me there was much good ground up in the river about seven or eight leagues.

About two leagues, further to the East is another great river called *Aquamenticus*.⁴⁶ There I think a good plantation may be settled, for there is a good harbour for ships, good ground, and much already cleared, fit for planting of corne and other fruits, having heretofore ben planted by the Salvages who are all dead. There is good timber, and likely to be good fishing, but as yet there hath beene no tryall made that I can heare of.

About

45. The site of the present city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The name here given is doubtless an approximation to the sound of the Indian name of the place as it appeared to the English. To the French it was Pesmokanti. Etymology, which is so often pressed into the service of theorists with amusing results, has been exercised upon this word, and one author assumes that it signifies *right angles*, while another thinks that it means the *great deer-place*. In the Trelawny Papers, this, it is suggested, is the more probable meaning, but a longer study of Abnaki place names has tended to

unsettle confidence in this meaning, as in many others, confidently assumed to be correct by writers, none of whom possessed more than a fragmentary knowledge of the Abnaki tongue, an intimate knowledge of which is not even sufficient to ensure accurate etymological results.

46. Agamenticus, we are confidently told, signifies snow-shoe river, from the shape of the pond forming its source. The place was selected subsequently by Sir Ferdinando Gorges as the seat of his airy government, and named Gorgeana. It is now known as York.

About 6 leagues further to the East is a harbour called *Cape Porpas*,⁴⁷ the which is indifferent good for 6 shippes, and it is generally thought to be an excellent place for fish, but as yet there hath been no tryall made, but there may be a good plantation seated, for there is good Timber and good ground, but will require some labour and charge.

About foure leagues further East, there is another harbour called *Sawco*⁴⁸ (betweene this place and *Cape Porpas* I lost one of my men) before we could recover the harbour a great fog or mist tooke us that we could not see a hundred yards from us. I perceiving the fog to come upon the Sea, called for a Compasse and set the Cape land, by which wee knew how to steare our course, which was no sooner done but wee lost sight of land, and my other boate, and the winde blew fresh against us, so that we were enforced to strike saile and betake

us

47. This is still as Levett found it, "an excellent place for fish," and there has been "a good plantation seated" there. The name, however, is not now applied to so extensive an area of territory as it was in early times.

48. It is hard to determine just the locality which Levett denominates Saco; but his description comprises Fletchers' Neck and Biddeford Pool, as well as the islands,

Wood, Negro, Ram, Eagle, Stage and Basket. The difficulties which lie in the way of etymologists, who would adduce meanings from the sounds of Abnaki words as preserved by early writers, are well illustrated in this word, which appeared to different ears to be Sowocatack, Choüa-coet, Sawaguatoock, and to Levett Sawco, which last sound is preserved in the modern Saco.

us to our Oares which wee used with all the wit and strength we had, but by no meanes could we recover the shore that night, being imbayed and compassed round with breaches, which roared in a most fearfull manner on every side us; wee took counsell in this extremity one of another what to doe to save our lives, at length we resolved that to put to sea againe in the night was no fit course, the storme being great, and the winde blowing right of the shore, and to runne our boate on the shore amongst the breaches, (which roared in a most fearefull manner) and cast her away and indanger ourselves we were loath to do, seeing no land nor knowing where we were. At length I caused our Killick (which was all the Anker we had) to be cast forth, and one continually to hold his hand upon the roode or cable, by which we knew whether our ancker held or no: which being done wee commended our selues to God by prayer, & put on a resolution to be as comfortable as we could, and so fell to our victuals. Thus we spent that night, and the next morning, with much adoe we got into *Sawco*, where I found my other boate.⁴⁹

There I stayed fieve nights, the winde beinge contrary,

49. This river, the Saco, rises in the White Mountains, which are distinctly seen by mariners as they approach the coast. In the locality where Levett camped, one

can still find the long grass in sufficient quantity to furnish all the kings of Christendom with a bed as luxurious as the explorers enjoyed.

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trary, and the weather very unseasonable, hauing much raine and snow, and continuall foggse.

We built us our Wigwam, or house, in one houres space, it had no frame, but was without forme or fashion, onely a few poles set up together, and couered with our boates sailes which kept forth but a little winde, and lesse raigne and snow.

Our greatest comfort we had, next unto that which was spirituall, was this we had foule enough for killing, wood enough for felling, and good fresh water enough for drinking.

But our beds was the wet ground, and our bedding our wet cloaths. Wee had plenty of Craine, Goose, Duckes and Mallard, with other fowle, both boyled and roasted, but our spits and racks were many times in danger of burning before the meate was ready (being but wooden ones.)

After I had stayed there three daies, and no likelyhood of a good winde to carrie vs further, I tooke with me six of my men, and our Armes, and walked along the shore, to discouer as much by land as I could: after I had travelled about two English miles I met with a riuier which stayed me that I could goe no further by land that day, but returned to our place of habitation where we rested that night (hauing our lodging amended) for the

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the day being dry I caused all my company to accompany mee to a marsh ground, where wee gathered euery man his burthen of long dry grasse, which being spread in our Wigwam or House, I praise God I rested as contentedly as euer I did in all my life. And then came into my minde an old merry saying, which I haue heard of a begger boy, who said if euer he should attaine to be a King, he would haue a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and lodge euery night vp to the eares in drye straw; and thus I made myselfe and my company as merry as I could, with this and some other conceits, making this vse of all, that it was much better then wee deserued at Gods hands, if he should deale with vs according to our sinnes.

The next morning I caused 4 of my men to rowe my lesser boate to this riuer, who with much adoe got in myselfe, and 3 more going by land: but by reason of the extremitie of the wether we were enforced to stay there that night, and were constrained to sleepe vpon the riuer banke, being the best place wee could finde, the snowe being very deepe.

The next morning wee were enforced to rise betime, for the tyde came vp so high that it washed away our fire, and would haue serued vs so too if we had not kept watch: So wee went over the riuer in our boate, where
I caused

I caused some to stay with her, myselfe being desirous to discouer further by land, I tooke with me foure men and walked along the shore about sixe English miles further to the East, where I found another riuer, which staied mee. So we returned backe to Sawco, where the rest of my company and my other boate lay. That night I was exceeding sicke, by reason of the wet and cold and much toyling of my body: but thanks be to God I was indifferent well the next morning, and the winde being faire we put to sea, and that day came to *Quack*.

But before I speak of this place I must say something of *Sawco*, and the too riuers which I discouered in that bay, which I thinke neuer Englishman saw before.

Sawco is about one league to the North-east of a cape land. And about one English mile from the maine lieth sixe Ilands, which make an indifferent good harbour. And in the maine there is a Coue or gutt, which is about a cables length in bredth, and too cables length long, there two good Ships may ride, being well mored a head and starne; and within the Coue there is a great Marsh, where at a high water a hundredth sayle of Ships may floate, and be free from all winds, but at low water must ly a ground, but being soft oase they can take no hurte.

In

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In this place there is a world of fowle, much good timber, and a great quantetie of cleare ground and good, if it be not a little too sandy. There hath beene more fish taken within too leagues of this place this yeare then in any other in the land.

The riuer next to *Sawco* eastwards, which I discovered by land, and after brought my boat into, is the strangest river that ever my eyes beheld. It flowes at the least ten foot water upright, and yet the ebbe runs so strong that the tyde doth not stem it. At three quarters floud my men were scarce able with foure Oares to rowe ahead. And more then that, at full Sea I dipped my hand in the water, quite without the mouth of the River, in the very main Ocean, and it was as fresh as though it had been taken from the head of a Spring.

This River, as I am told by the *Salvages*, commeth from a great mountaine called the Christall hill, being as they say 100 miles in the Country, yet is it to be seene at the sea side, and there is no ship ariues in *New England*, either to the West so farre as *Cape Cod*, or to the East so farre as *Monhiggen*, but they see this Mountaine the first land, if the weather be cleere.

The next river Eastward which I discovered by land, is about sixe miles from the other. About these two riuers I saw much good timber and sandy ground, there
is

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is also much fowle, fish and other commodities: but these places are not fit for plantation for the present, because there is no good comming in, either for ship, or boate, by reason of a sandy breach which lyeth alongst the shore, and makes all one breach.⁵⁰

And now in its place I come to *Quack*,⁵¹ which I haue named *Yorke*. At this place there fished divers ships of *Weymouth* this yeare.

It lyeth about two leagues to the East of *Cape Elizabeth*. It is a Bay or Sound betwixt the Maine and certaine Ilands which lyeth in the sea about one English mile and halfe.

There are foure Ilands which makes one good harbour, there is very good fishing, much fowle and the mayne as good ground as any can desire. There I foūd one River wherein the Savages say there is much *Salmon* and other good fish. In this Bay, there hath ben taken this yeare 4. *Sturgions*, by fishermen who driue only for *Herrings*, so that it is likely there may be good store taken if there were men fit for that purpose. This River

I made

50. This answers the description of the Spurwink, where Cleeve and Tucker subsequently settled.

51. Exactly what territory is comprised under this title, it is impossible to define but there can be no doubt as to the main features of the territory

described. The islands are certainly Cushings, Peaks', Diamond and House; and the harbor, Portland. Levett's patent of six thousand acres must, besides these islands, have embraced a large area of territory on the main land.

I made bold to call by my owne uame *Levetts* river,⁵² being the first that discovered it. How farre this river is Navigable I cannot tell, I haue ben but 6. miles up it, but on both sides is goodly ground.

In the same Bay I found another River, up which I went about three miles, and found a great fall, of water much bigger than the fall at *London* bridge, at low water; further a boate cannot goe, but above the fall the River runnes smooth againe.⁵³

Iust at this fall of water the *Sagamore* or King of that place hath a house, where I was one day when there were two *Sagamors* more, their wiues and children, in all about 50. and we were but 7. They bid me welcome and gaue me such victualls as they had, and I gaue them Tobacco and Aqua vitæ.

After I had spent a little time with them I departed & gaue them a small shot, and they gaue me another. And the great *Sagamore* of the East country, whom the rest doe acknowledge to be chiefe amongst them, hee gaue unto me a Bevers skin, which I thankfully received, and so in great loue we parted. On both sides this river there is goodly ground.

From

52. This river is known as Fore River, but the salmon, which glanced through its waters are but reminiscences of an idyllic past. It would be well to restore to it the name of

Levett, its present one being almost meaningless.

53. This is certainly the Presumpscot, whose rocky fall still presents an impassable barrier to navigation.

From this harbour to *Sagadahock*, which is about 8. or 9. leagues, is all broken Ilands in the Sea, which makes many excellent good Harbours, where a thousand saile of Shipps may ride in safety; the sound going up within the Ilands to the Cape of *Sagadahock*.

In the way betwixt *Yorke* and *Sagadahock* lyeth *Cascoe*,⁵⁴ a good harbour, good fishing, good ground, and much fowle. And I am perswaded that from *Cape Elizabeth* to *Sagadahock*, which is aboue 30 leagues to follow the Maine, is all exceeding commodious for Plantations: and that there may be 20 good Townes well seated, to take the benefit both of the sea, and fresh Rivers.

For *Sagadahock* I need say nothing of it, there hath been heeretofore enough said by others, and I feare me too much. But the place is good, there fished this yeare two ships.

The next place I came to was *Capemanwagan*,⁵⁵ a place where nine ships fished this yeare. But I like it not for a plantation, for I could see little good timber & lesse good ground, there I staid foure nights, in which time, there came many Savages with their wiues and children,

54. The region here alluded to is still denominated Casco Bay. Levett probably applies the name Casco to that portion of the bay embraced by the shores of Cumberland and North Yarmouth.

55. This place is frequently mentioned by early writers, but the name has disappeared from the region to which it was applied. The town of Boothbay embraces a portion of the region, and probably Southport.

children, and some of good accompt amongst them, as *Menawormet* a Sagamore, *Cogawesco* the Sagamore of *Casco* and *Quack*, now called *Yorke*, *Somerset*, a Sagamore, one that hath ben found very faithfull to the English, and hath saved the liues of many of our Nation, some from starving, others from killing.

They entended to haue ben gone presently, but hearing of my being there, they desired to see me, which I understood by one of the Masters of the Ships, who likewise told me that they had some store of Beauer coats and skinnēs, and was going to *Pemaquid* to truck with one Mr. *Witheridge*, a Master of a ship of *Bastable*, and desired me to use meanes that they should not carry thē out of the harbour, I wisht them to bring all their truck to one Mr. *Cokes* stage, & I would do the best I could to put it away: some of them did accordingly, and I then sent for the *Sagamores*, who came, and after some complements they told me I must be their cozen, and that Captaine *Gorges* was so, (which you may imagine I was not a little proud of, to be adopted cozen to so many great Kings at one instant, but did willingly accept of it) and so passing away a little time very pleasantly, they desired to be gone, whereupon I told them that I understood they had some coates and Beauers skins which I desired to truck for but they were unwilling,

willing, and I seemed carelesse of it (as men must doe if they desire any thing of them.) But at last *Somerset* swore that there should be none carryed out of the harbour, but his cozen *Levett* should haue all, and then they began to offer me some by way of gift, but I would take none but one paire of sleeues from *Cogawesco*, but told them it was not the fashion of English Captaines alwaies to be taking, but sometimes to take and giue, and continually to truck was very good. But in fine, we had all except one coate and two skinnies, which they reserved to pay an old debt with, but they staying all that night, had them stole from them.

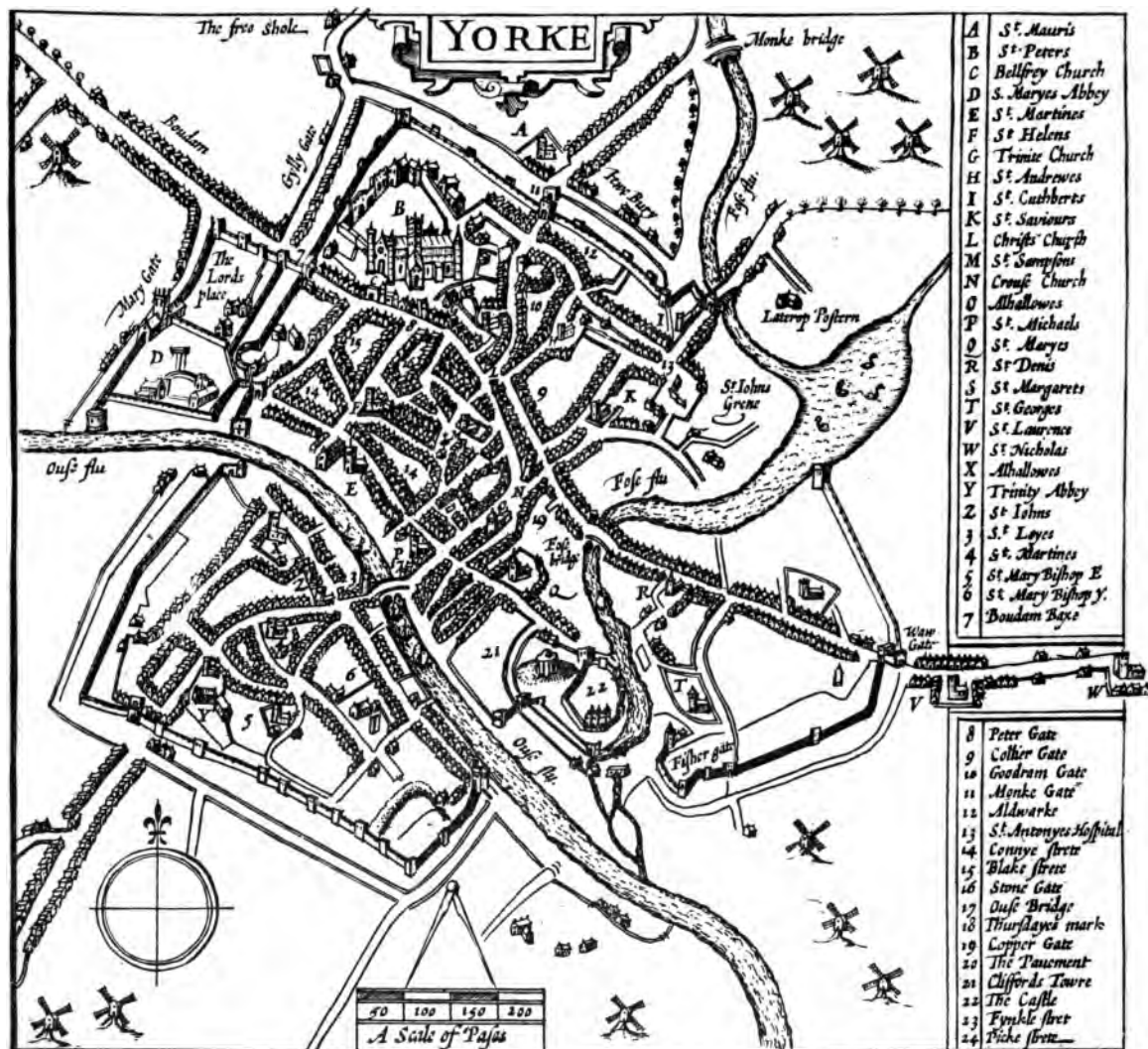
In the morning the *Sagamores* came to mee with a grieuous complaint, I vsed the best language I could to giue them content, and went with them to some Stages which they most suspected, and searched both Cabins and Chests, but found none. They seeing my willingness to finde the theefe out, gaue mee thankses, and wished me to forbear saying the Rogues had carried them into the woods where I could not find them.

When they were ready to depart they asked mee where I meant to settle my plantation. I told them I had seene many places to the west, and intended to goe farther to the east before I could resolue, they sayed there was no good place, and I had heard, that *Pemoquid* and
Capmanwagan,

Capmanwagan, and *Monhiggon* were granted to others, & the best time for fishing was then at hand, which made me the more willing to retire, and the rather because *Cogawesco*, the *Sagamore* of *Casco* and *Quacke*, told me if that I would sit downe at either of those two places, I should be very welcome, and that he and his wife would goe along with me in my boate to see them, which curtesey I had no reason to refuse, because, I had set vp my resolution before to settle my plantation at *Quacke*, which I named *Yorke*, and was glad of this oppertunity, that I had obtained the consent of them who as I conceiue hath a naturall right of inheritance, as they are the sonnes of Noah, and therefore doe thinke it fit to carry things very fairely without compulsion, (if it be posible) for avoyding of treacherie.

The next day the winde came faire, and I sayled to *Quacke* or *Yorke*, with the King, Queene, and Prince, bowe and arrowes, dogge and kettell in my boate, his noble attendance rowing by vs in their Cannow.

When we came to *Yorke* the Masters of the Shippes came to bid me welcome, and asked what Sauages those were, I told them, and I thanked them, they vsed them kindly, & gaue them meate, drinke and tobacco. The woman or reputed Queene, asked me if those men were my friends, I told her they were; then she dranke to them,
and



MAP OF YORK IN LEVETT'S TIME.

and told them, they were welcome to her Countrey, and so should all my friends be at any time, she dranke also to her husband, and bid him welcome to her Countrey too, for you must vnderstand that her father was the *Sagamore* of this place, and left it to her at his death hauing no more Children.

And thus after many dangers, much labour and great charge, I haue obtained a place of habitation in *New-England*, where I haue built a house, and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are those Sauage people.⁵⁶

Chap. II.

56. Where was this fortified house in which Levett left a little company of men to hold it until his return; not men whose sole duty it was to defend it against the savages, but to carry on a fishing for him? The question is not one of much importance, but has been often speculated upon; indeed, it will probably never pass beyond the stage of speculation. That it was upon an island seems quite well settled, especially by Maverick, who says that "About the yeare 1632 (a clerical error for 1623) there was a Patent granted to one Capt. Christopher Levett for 6,000 acres of land which he tooke up in this Bay neare Cape Elizabeth, and built a good House and fortified well on an Island lyeing before Casco River." House Island best answers

this description. It lies near Cape Elizabeth and before Casco or Fore River; besides, from the earliest time, this island has been a favorite resort of fishermen, and its sunny slopes have been burdened with their flakes, as they are to-day. Its name is also suggestive. Levett's house was a fortified one, and we can hardly doubt was the one called by Winter when writing to Trelawny, "*the house at Casco*," where he went to engage some fishermen in 1630, which we must also infer was on "an Island in that baye of Cascoe," since Trelawny tells Gorges that this island was the only part of his patent of which Levett took *de facto* possession. Two answers have been made to this theory. The first answer is that in a deed of 1808 it is called

CHAP. II.

Sheweth how the Sauages, carried themselues vnto me continually, and of my going to their Kings Houses: and their comming to mine.

THILEST I staid in this place I had some little trucke, but not much, by reason of an euill member in the Harbour, who being couetous of trucke vsed the matter so, that he got the Sauages away from me.

And

"Howes, alias House Island," and therefore, took its name from a former occupant. But how account for the fact that in White's deed in 1663, it is denominated "house Iland—with the house yron," and so, for a century and a half afterwards is named in the varied spelling so common to the time, house, howse, hows and in the deed of 1818, Howes. As a matter of fact there is no record in existence showing that it was ever occupied by a man by the name of Howe; but if it had been, it would only show a coincidence precisely like one in the case of Mackworth or Mackey's Island. When the writer first visited this island in 1884, an old lady living there said she knew Mr. Mackey for whom it was named. When informed that she must be old as the man from whom it derived its

name had been dead more than two centuries, she replied confidently, that he was alive twenty years before, and investigation showed the curious coincidence, that James Mackey, a Scotchman, lived on the island about thirty years before, and was supposed to have given his name to the island, although it had borne that name more than a century before his birth. The second answer was by a military man, who reasoned that Levett would not have attempted to fortify this island, as a man possessing any military knowledge would not have erected a fortification on such an island; forgetting that nothing was needed but a house fortified, as Levett says, "in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are these savage people," and strangely overlooking the still

And it is no wonder that he should abuse me in this sort, for he hath not spared your Lordshipps and all the Counsell for *New-England*.

He said vnto the Gouvernour that the Lords had sent men ouer into that Countrey with Commissions, to make a prey of others. And yet for my owne part I neuer demanded or tooke from any man in that Countrey, the value of a denier, neither had I so much helpe from any Shippe or Shippes companie as one mans labour the space of an houre, nor, had I any prouision or victuall vpon any tearmes whatsoever, saue onely 1000. of bread, and 22. bushells of pease, which was offered vnto mee and not by me requested, for which I gaue present satisfaction in *Beuer* skines: and also one Rownlet of *Aqua vitæ*, which was brought to me 16 Leagues vnexpected, which good manners bid me buy. Much more provision was offered to me by many Masters of Ships, but I had no need thereof, so I gaue them thanks for their kindnesse, and refused all.

Nay, it is well knowne, that I was so farre from doing wrong to any: that I suffered the Land which was granted to me by Pattent and made choyce of before
any

more important fact, that it had already been fortified by the United States Government. *Vide* Maverick's Description of New England, p. 8; Trelawny Papers, pp. 102, 251;

York Deeds, Book I, p. 144; Goold's Portland in the Past, p. 27, and an article read before the Maine Historical Society by Lieutenant Leary.

any other man came there, to be used, and my timber to be cut downe & spoyled, without taking or asking any satisfaction for the same. And I doubt not but all others to whom you gaue authoritie, will sufficiently cleare themselues of all such imputations.

He said also he cared not for any authoritie in that place and though he was forbid to trucke yet would he haue all he could get: in despite of who should say to the contrary, having a great Ship with 17. peeces of Ordinance and 50. men.

And indeed his practise was according to his words, for every Sunday or once in the weeke, he went himselfe or sent a boate up the river and got all the trucke before they could come downe to the Harbour. And so many Savages as he could get to his stage, hee would enforce the to leaue their goods behind them. One instance a mongst many I will giue you.

On a certaine day there came two Savages to his place, who were under the command of *Somerset* or *Conway*, I know not whether, at which time they were both with me at my house, but the other two who went to him, knew not so much, but afterwards they understanding of it, came presently over, but left their Cotts and *Beauer* skins behind them, whereat *Somerset* and *Conway* were exceeding angrie and were ready to beate the
poore

poore fellows, but I would not suffer them so to doe. They presently went over the Harbor themselues in their *Cannow* to fetch their goods, but this man would let them haue none, but wished them to truck with him, they told him they would not, but would carry them to Captaine *Levett*, he said *Levett* was no captaine, but a *Iacknape*, a poore fellow, &c. They told him againe that he was a *Roague*, with some other speeches, where-upon he and his company fell upon them & beate them both, in so much that they came to me in a great rage against him, and said they would be revenged on his Fishermen at sea, and much adoe I had to diswade one of them for going into *England* to tell King *Iames* of it, as he said; when they came to me in this rage, there was two or three Masters of Shippes by, and heard every word.

But all this did me no hurt, (saue the losse of the trucke, which by divers was thought to be worth above 50. li.) for the two *Sagamores* whom he inticed from me, and incensed against me, at length used meanes to be freinds with me, sending one who asked me, if I were angrie with them, I told them no, I was not angrie with them for any such matter as lowsie Cotts and skinnes, but if they were *Matchett*, that is, naughtie men, and rebellious, then I would be *Mouchick Hoggery*, that is very angry, and would *Cram*, that is, kill them all.

When

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When they came them selues to me to seeke peace, they brought me a *Beauer* Coate, and two *Otter* skines, which they would have let me had for nothing, but I would not take them so, but gaue them more then vsually I did by way of Trucke, I then told them likewise that if at any time they did Trucke with mee, they should haue many good things in leiu of their *Beauer*: and if they did not Trucke it was no matter, I would be good friends with them, at which they smiled and talked one to the other, saying the other man was a *Iacknape*, and that I had the right fashion of the *Aberieney*⁵⁷ *Sagamores*, then they began to applaude or rather flatter me, saying I was so bigge a *Sagamore*, yea foure fathom, which were the best words they could vse to expresse their minds: I replied that I was a poore man as he had reported of mee. They said againe it was no matter what I said, or that *Iacknape* (which is the most disgracefull word that may be in their conceite,) for all the *Sagamores* in the Country loued poore *Levett* and was *Muchicke* sorrie that he would be gon, and indeed I cannot tell what I should thinke of them, for euer after they would bring mee any thing they thought would giue mee content, as *Egges* and the whole bodyes of *Beauer*, which in my concite eate like *Lambe*, and is not
inferiour

57. Wood, in his *New England's Prospect*, applies the title *Abergin-*

ians to these savages, the people whom we denominate the *Abnakis*.

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inferiour to it: yea the very coats of Beauer & *Otter-skinnes* from off their backes, which though I many time refused, yet not allwaies, but I neuer tooke any such courtesie from them, but I requited them answerably, chusing rather to neglect the present profit, then the hopes I haue to bring them to better things, which I hope will be for a publicke good, and which I am perswaded were agreeuous sinne, to neglect for any sinister end.

And a little before my departure there came these *Sagamores* to see mee, *Sadamoyt*, the great *Sagamore* of the East Countrey, *Manawormet*, *Opparunwit*, *Skedraguscett*, *Cogawesco*, *Somersett*, *Conway* and others.

They asked me why I would be gone out of their Countrey, I was glad to tell them my wife would not come thither except I did fetch her, they bid a pox on her hounds, (a phrase they have learned and doe vse when they doe curse) and wished me to beate her. I told them no, for then our God would bee angrie. Then they runne out vpon her in euil tearmes, and wished me to let her alone and take another, I told them our God would be more angrie for that. Againe they bid me beate her, beate her, repeating it often, and very angrily, but I answered no, that was not the English fashion, and besides, she was a good wife and I had
children

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children by her, and I loued her well, so I satisfied them. Then they told me that I and my wife and Children, with all my friends, should bee hartily welcome into that Countrey at any time, yea a hundredth thousand times, yea *Mouchicke, Mouchicke*, which is a word of waight.

And *Somersett* tould that his Sonne (who was borne, whilst I was in the Countrey, and whom hee would needs haue to Name) and mine should be Brothers and that there should be *muchicke legamatch*, (that is friendship) betwixt them, untill *Tanto* carried them to his wigwam, (that is vntill that they died.

Then they must know of mee how long I would be wanting, I told them so many Months, at which they seemed to be well pleased, but wisht me to take heede I proued not *Chechaske*, in that (that is, a liar.) They asked me what I would doe with my house, I told them I would leaue 10. of my men there vntill I came againe, and that they should kill all the *Tarrantens* they should see (being enimies to them) and with whom the English haue no commarsse. At which they reioyced exceedingly, and then agreed amongst themselues that when the time should be expired, which I spoke of for my returne, euery one at the place where he liued would looke to the Sea, and when they did see a Ship they wold send to all the *Sagamores* in the Countrey, and tell them

them that poore *Levett* was come againe. And thus instead of doing me hurt, I thinke that either he or I haue done good to all Planters, by winning their affections, (which may bee made vse of without trusting of them.)

But if your Lordship should put up this wrong done unto you, and the Authority which you gaue them, never expect to be obeyed in those parts, either by Planters or Fishermen; for some haue not stucke to say, that if such a man, contemning authority, and abusing one of the counsell, and drawing his knife upon him at his own house, which he did, should goe unpunished, then would not they care what they did heereafter.

And truely let me tell your Lordships, that if euer you intend to punish any for disobedience, or contempt of authority, this man is a fit instrument to make a president of, for he is rich, and this yeare will gaine the best part of 500 pounds by that Countrie, and he hath nether wife nor childe, for whose sakes he should be spared.

And if he goe free, as hee has domineered over vs, to whom your Lordships gaue authority, but no power to put it in execution, so will he grow unmannerly too vvith your Lordships, as hee hath already begunne.

And it vvill discourage men hereafter to take any
authority

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authority upon them, or to goe about to reforme any abuses in those parts, and also it vvill hinder Planters for going over, if Fishermen be suffered not onely to take avvay their truck, but also to animate the Sauages against them, for this is the vvay to cause all Planters to haue their throats cut.

But I leaue these things to your Lo. consideration, vvho haue as vvell povver as authority to punish such rebellious persons.

Thus hauing acquainted you vvith vvhat I haue done, seen and heard; novv giue me leaue to tell you vvhat I thinke of the Savages, the inhabitants of that country: as also to iustifie the innocent, I meane the Countrie of *New England*, against the slanderous reports of this man, and some others which I haue heard, and likewise to deliver my opinion, what courses I conceiue to be most convenient to be taken, for bringing most glorie to God, comfort, honor and benifit to our King, and our owne Natiue Nation.

Chap. III.

CHAP. III.

Sheweth the nature and disposition of the Savages, and of their severall Gods, Squanto and Tanto.



HAUE had much conference with the Sav-egas, about our only true God, and haue done my best to bring them to know and acknowledge him, but I feare me all the labour that way, will be lost, and no good will be done, except it be among the younger sort.

I find they haue two Gods, on they love: and the other the hate, the god they loue: they call *Squanto*, and to him they ascribe all their good fortunes.

The god they hate they call *Tanto*, and to him they ascribe all their euill fortunes, as thus, when any is killed, hurt or sicke, or when it is evill wether, then they say *Tanto* is *hoggry*, that is angry. When any dyes, they say *Tanto* carries them to his *wigwam*, that is his house, and they never see them more.

I haue asked them where *Squanto* dwells, they say they cannot tell but up on high, and will poynt upwards. And for *Tanto*, they say farre west, but they know not where.

I haue asked them if at any time they haue seene
Squanto,

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Squanto, or *Tanto*, they say no, there is none sees them, but their *Pawwawes*, nor they neither, but when they dreame.

Their *Pawwawes* are their Phisitians and Surgions, and as I verely belecue they are all Witches, for they foretell of ill wether, and many strange things, every *Sagamore* hath one of them belongs to his company, and they are altogether directed by them.

On a time I was at a *Sagamores* house and saw a *Martins* skin, and asked if he would trucke it, the *Sagamore* told me no, the *Pawwawe* used to lay that under his head when he dreamed, and if he wanted that, he could doe nothing, thus we may perceiue how the devill deludes those poore people and keep them in blindness.

I find them generally to be marvellous quicke of apprehension, and full of subteltie, they will quickly find any man's disposition, and flatter & humour him strangely, if they hope to get anything of him. And yet will they count him a foole if he doe not shevv a dislike of it, and vvill say on to another, that such a man is a *Mehecome*.

They are slow of speech, and if they heare a man speake much they will laugh at him, and say he is a *Mehecum*, that is a foole.

If

If men of place be too familiar with them, they will not respect them: therefore it is to be wished that all such persons should be wise in their Carriage.

The *Sagamores* will scarce speake to an ordinary man, but will point to their men, and say *Sanops*, must speake to *Sanops*, and *Sagamors* to *Sagamors*.

They are very bloody minded and full of Tracherie amongst themselues, one will kill another for their wiues, and he that hath the most wiues is the brauest fellow: therefore I would wish no man to trust them, what euer they say or doe; but alwaies to keepe a strickt hand ouer them, and yet to vse them kindly, and deale vprightly with them; so shall they please God, keepe their reputation amongst them, and be free from danger.

Their *Sagamors* are no Kings, as I verilie beleeeue, for I can see no Government or Law amongst them but Club Law: and they call all Masters of Shippes *Sagamore*, or any other man, that they see have a commaund of men.

Their wiues are their slaves, and doe all their worke the men doe nothing but kill Beasts, Fish, &c.

On a time reasoning with one of their *Sagamors* about their hauing so many wiues, I tould him it was no good fashion, he then asked mee how many wiues King *James* had, I told him he neuer had but one, and shee
was

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was dead, at which he wondred, and asked mee who then did all the Kings worke. You may Imagin he thought their fashion was vniuersal and that no King had any to worke for them but their wiufs.

They haue no apparrell but skinnes, except they haue it from the *English*, or *French*, in winter the weare the haire side inwards, in summer outwards. They haue a peece of a skinne about their loines like a girdle and between their legges goes another, made fast to the girdle before and behind, which serues to couer their nakednesse, they are all thus apparrelled, going bare headed with long haire, sometimes you shall not know the men from women but by their breasts, the men having no haire on their faces.

When their Children are borne they bind them on a peece of board, and sets it vpright, either against a tree or any other place. They keep them thus bound vntill they be three months old, and after they are continually naked vntill they be about fve or sixe yeares.

Yee shall haue them many times take their Children & bury them in the snow all but their faces for a time, to make them the better to endure cold, and when they are not aboue 2. yeares old, they will take them and cast them into the Sea, like a little dogge or Cat, to learne them to swimme.

Their

A VOYAGE INTO NEVV ENGLAND. 119

Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, I never saw more than two fowling peece, one pistall, about foure Halfe-pikes, and three Curt-laces amongst them, so that we neede not to feare them much, if wee auoid their Treacherie.

Their houses are built in halfe an houres space being onely a few powles or boughes stucke in the ground and couered with the barks of trees.

Their Language differs as *English & Welch*. On a time the Gouvernour was at my house, and brought with him a *Salvage*, who liued not aboue 70. miles from the place which I haue made choise of, vvho talking vvith another Sauage, they vv ere glad to vse broken *English* to expresse their mind each to other, not being able to vnderstand one another in their Language.

And to say something of the Countrey: I will not doe therein as some haue done, to my knowledge speak more then is true: I will not tell you that you may smell the corne fields before you see the Land, neither must men thinke that corne doth growe naturally (or on trees,) nor will the *Deare* come when they are called, or stand still and looke one a man, untill he shute him, not knowing a man from a beast, nor the fish leape into the kettle, nor on the drie Land, neither are they so plentifull, that you may dipp them up in baskets, nor
take

take *Codd* in netts to make a voyage, which is no truer: then that the fowles will present themselues, to you with spitts through them.

But certainly there is fowle, *Deare*, and Fish enough for the taking if men be dilligent, there be also Vines, Plume trees, Cherey trees, Strawberies, Gooseberies, and Raspes, Walnutts, chesnut, and small nuts, of each great plenty; there is also great store of parsley, and divers other holesome Earbes, both for profit and pleasure, with great store of Saxifrage, Cersa-perilla, and Anni-seeds.

And for the ground their is large & goodly Marsh to make meddow, higher land for pasture and corne.

There be these severall sorts of earth, which I haue seene, as, *Clay*, *Sand*, *Grauill*, yea and as blacke fatt earth, as ever I sawe in *England* in all my life.

There are likewise these helpes for ground, as Sea-sand, *Oreworth* or *Wracke*, *Marle* blew and white, and some men say there is *Lime*, but I must confesse I neuer saw any *Lime-stone*: but I haue tried the Shels of Fish, and I find them to be good *Lime*.

Now let any husbandman tell mee, whither there be any feare of hauing any kind of Corne, hauing these seuerall kinds of Earth with these helpes, the Climat being full as good if not better than *England*.

I dare

I dare be bold to say also, there may be Shippes as conueniently built there as in any place of the world, where, I haue beene, and better cheape. As for Plancke, crooked Timber, and all other sorts what so euer can be desired for such purpose, the world cannot afford better. Masts and Yeards of all sises, there be also Tees growing, whereof Pitch and Tarre is made.

And for Sailes and all sorts of Cordish you neede not to want, if you will but sowe Hempe and Flaxseede, and after worke it. Now there wants nothing but Iron, and truely I thinke I haue seene Iron-stone there, but I must acknowledge I haue no great iudgement in Mineralls, yet I haue seene the Iron-workes in *England*, and this Stone is like ours. But howsoever if the Countrie will not afford Iron, yet it may be easilie brought, for it is good Ballast for Shippes.

There is also much excellent Timber for Ioyners and Coopers: howsoever a worthy Noble man hath beene abused, who sent ouer some to make Pippe-staues, who either for want of skill or industrie, did no good. Yet I dare say no place in *England* can afford better Timber for Pippe-staues, then foure seuerall places which I haue seene in that Countrey.

Thus haue I related vnto you what I haue seene, and doe know may be had in those parts of *New-England*

land where I haue beene, yet was I neuer at the Mesachusett, which is counted the Paradice of *New-England*, nor at *Cape Ann*. But I feare there hath been too faire a glosse set on *Cape Ann*. I am told there is a good Harbour which makes a faire Inuitation, but when they are in their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground, and the Shippes which fished there this yeare, their boats went twenty miles to take their Fish, and yet they were in great feare of making their Voyages, as one of the Masters confessed vnto me who was at my house.⁵⁸

Neither was I at *New-Plimoth*, but I feare that place is not so good as many other, for if it were in my conceite they would content themselues with it and not seeke for any other hauing ten times so much ground as would serue ten times so many people as they haue now amongst them. But it seemes they haue no Fish to make benifit of, for this yeare they had one Shippe Fisht at *Pemoquid*, and an other at *Cape Ann*, where they haue begun a new Plantation, but how long it will continew I know not.

Neither was I ever farther to the West than the Iles of *Shoulds*.

Thus

58. There were from forty to fifty ships fishing on the New England

coast while Levett was in the country if we may credit Smith.

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Thus have I done with my commendations of the Countrie. I will now speake the worst I know by it.

About the middle of May you shall haue little Flies, called *Musketoës*, which are like Gnatts, they continue as I am told, vntill the last of July. These are very troublesome for the time, for they sting exceedingly both night and day. But I found by experience that bootes or thicke stockings would saue the legges, gloues the hands, and tiffeney or some such things which will not much hinder the sight will saue the face, and at night any smoake will secure a man.

The reason of the aboundance of these creatures, I take to be the woods which hinders the aire, for I haue obserued allwaies when the winde did blow but a little, we were not much troubled with them.

And I verily thinke that if there were a good number of people planted together, and that the woods were cut downe, the earth were tilled, and the rubbish which lieth on the ground wherein they breed were burnt, and that there were many chimneyes smoaking, such small creatures would doe but little hurt.

Another euill or inconuenience I see there, the snow in winter did lie very long vpon the ground.

But I understand that all the parts of Christendome, were troubled with a cold winter so well as wee. Yet
would

would I aske any man what hurt snow doeth? The husbandman will say that Corne is the better for it. And I hope Cattell may bee as well fed in the house there as in *England, Scotland*, and other Countries, and he is but an ill husband that cannot find Employments for his seruants within doores for that time. As for Wiues and Children if they bee wise they will keepe themselues close by a good fire, and for men they will haue no occasion to ride to Faires or Markets, *Sysse*s or *Sessions*, only Hawkes and Hounds will not then be vsefull.

Yet let me tell you that it is still almost Christmas before there be any winter there, so that the cold time doth not continue long.

And by all reason that Countrey should be hotter then England, being many Degrees farther from he North Pole.

And thus according to my poore understanding I haue given you the best information I can of the people and Country, commodities and discommodities. Now giue mee leaue to oppose myselfe against the man before-mentioned, and others, who speaks against the Country, and plantations in those parts, and to set down such obiections as I haue heard them make, and my answers, and afterward let wisdom iudge: for my desire is, that
the

the saddle may be set on the right horse, and the Asse may be rid, and the knaue punished, either for discouraging or incouraging too much, whosoeuer he be.

CHAP. V.

Certaine obiections and answers, with sufficient proues how it may be exceeding profitable to the Commonwealth and all planters and adventurers.



HEY say the Country is good for nothing but to starue so many people as comes in it.

It is granted that some haue beene starued to death, and others haue hardly escaped, but vvhere vvvas the fault, in the Country or in themselues. That the Country is as I haue said, I can bring 100 men to iustifie it; but if men be neither industrious nor provident, they may starue in the best place of the world.

About two yeares since one Mr. *Weston* sent ouer about 50 persons to plant, with little prouision; vvhen they came there, they neither applyed themselues to planting of corne nor taking of fish, more then for their present use, but vvvent about to build Castles in the Aire, and making of Forts, neglecting the plentiful time of fishing. When Winter came their forts vvould not
keepe

keepe out hunger, and they hauing no provision before-hand, and wanting both powder and shot to kill Deare and Fowle, many vvere starued to death, and the rest hardly escaped. There are foure of his men which escaped, now at my plantation, who haue related unto me the whole businesse.⁵⁹

Again, this last yeare there went ouer diuerse at one time, and to one place, with too little prouision, some of them are dead, yet I cannot heare of any that were meerely starued, except one whose name was *Chapman*, a *Londoner*, and whether he was starued or no is uncertaine; but if he were, Gods iust iudgement did appeare. For this man (as I am told, by an honest man, who came from *London* with him) brought at the least 80 pound worth of prouision, and no more but himselve and two servants, which was sufficient for at the least 18 moneths, if it had been well used. And yet in 5 moneths after his arivall in New England he dyed miserably.

Let me tell you a strange thing of this man (I haue it but by relation from one of his companions) he payed for his passage, and his mens, and provision, so that he
needed

59. This is to be noticed, that when Levett wrote this book in 1628, he then had in his house at Casco, at least four men who had belonged to Weston's unfortunate colony. It

was only two years later that Winter went there and secured the services of Alger, Baker and Rouse, to fish for him at Richmond's Island. *Vide Trelawny Papers*, p. 251.

needed not to haue spent any thing until his arival in New England, yet would he at *Plimoth* (where the ship stayed too long for him and others,) spent seven or eight pound a week in wine, Tobacco, and whores, and for the maintaining of this expence he daily fetched his provision from aboard, and sold it at a low rate. And when they were at Sea, his Tobacco being spent, he gaue usually sixepence for a pipe; he gave also a sute of cloaths, valewd to be worth 50 shillings, for so much Tobacco as was not worth halfe a crowne. Nay at last, as his Comrade told me, he was glad to become servant to one of his servants. Then his Master told him, that if hee would work hee would allow him one bisket cake a day, if not he should haue but halfe a cake. He made choice of halfe a cake, vvithout vvork; and so a base lazie fellow made a lamentable end. Where vvas the fault now, in the men, or the Country?

Another obiection which I haue met vvith is this: That there is nothing got or saued by sending men ouer to plant; neither is it beneficiall either to private men, either Aduenturer or Planter, or good for the Commonwealth.

For answer hereunto, first for matter of profite, it is vvell knowne to all the Marchants of the West Country, vvho haue left almost all other Trade but this, and yet is growne rich thereby.

Secondly

Secondly, for the Common-wealth consider these things:

1 The great complaint that hath for a long time been made in *England*, that our land is overburthened vvith people, and that there is no imployment for our men ; so that it is likely they must either starue, steale, or proue mutinous. And vvwhether plantations be a meanes to help this inconvenience or no, I desire to know?

It hath beene likevvise said unto me, that it benefits the Common-vvealth nothing at all to send men ouer vvith provision of cloathes victuals, and continuall supplies.

To that I say, let such men as you send thither to plant haue provision as *Chapman* had for 18 monthes, and if after they cannot liue of themselves, and be beneficiall either to the common wealth or to themselues, let them dye *Chapmans* death.

Againe Plantations may be beneficiall to the Commonwealth, by the enlargement of his Majesties Dominions.

Againe by the increase of Shipping, (which is the strength of a Nation, and that without wasting of our timber which is a commoditie that I feare *England* will find the want off before many yeares passe over, for if timber goe to decay as now it doth, we shall scarce haue
any

any to build, or repare, Ships or houses. Againe tell me whither it would be benifitall to the Common-wealth to haue all our idle persons kept to worke and our populous Nation disburthened, and yet to haue them ready to serue our King and Countrey vpon all occasions.

Lastly, tell me whither it would be beneficial to the Common-wealth to haue all poore people maintained out of those Artes. And euerie parrish freed from their weekly paiments to the poore, which if I doe make to appeare, then let me be accounted an vnworthy fellow. But first let me set down another obiection, which seemes to be of great force, and yet in my conceit is like the rest, shallow and that is this.

If say they there be so many plantations, there will be no roome in the Countrey for such Ships as doe come yearely to make voiages, and by this meanes Shippes shall lye still and decay Marriners and Fishermen shall want imployment, and so all will be out of frame if euer we shall haue warres. And therefore howsoever it may be benifitall to some few persons, yet it will be hurtfull to the Common-wealth. And consequently all such as haue any hand in such businesses are euill members in the Common-wealth.

I answere that if these things were thoroughly examined

amined by his Maiestie, the Parliament or Counsell Table, it would plainely appeare, that the most of them which keepe such adoe against Plantations, are the greatest enimies to the publique good, and that their shew of care for the Commo-wealth is nothing but a colour, for the more cleanly concealing of their vnknowne profits. It will also appeare that plantations are for the publique good and by that meanes there shall be more and better cheape Shippes built, and imploied, more Mariners and Fishermen kept to worke then now there are, and more people pertakers of the benefits than now there doth.

Which I prove thus, first there may be Timber had to build Shippes, and ground for Corne and keeping of Cattel, and all for little or nothing.

Secondly there may bee more men trained vp in fishing then now there is, whose trade is decaied in *England*, and they ready to sterue for want of imployments.

Thirdly, there may bee twice so much fish taken euery yeare as now there is. For Shippes that goe to make Voyages, seldome or neuer keep their boats at Sea about two Months or ten weekes, for making their Voyage, and I dare maintaine that there is Fish enough to be taken, seuen Mounths in the yeare if men be there ready to take all opportunities.

Fourthly

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Fourthly, the more Fish that is taken the more Shippes there must be for the transportation of it.

Fiftly, whereas now none doth take the benefite but a few Marchants, not all the Marchants in the Land, no not one of a thowsand.

By Plantations, not onely all the Marchants in the Land, but all the people in the Land may partake thereof.

And now to shew you how the profite may arise.

CHAP. VI.

Sheweth how by adventuring of a 100. pounds more or lesse, a man may profite so much every yeare, for 20. yeares or longer, without any more charge then at the first.



MUST confesse I haue studied no other Art a longe time but the Mysteries of *New Englands* Trade, and I hope at last: I haue attained to the understanding of the secrets of it, which I thinke the Fishermen are sorie for. But it shall be no longer concealed, for that I thinke every good subiect is bound to preferre the publicke, beforre his own private good.

First therefore, I will shew you the charge which
every

every Marchant is at yearely, in sending their Shipes to fish there, and so neere as I can the profit they make of such Voyages. Then we will see the charge which planters must be at, in sending men over to stay there, and the profit they are likely to make, and so by comparing the one with the other, we shall see, which is the better and more profitable course.

A Shipp of 200. Tunn, commonly doth carrie in those Voyages 50. men, these men are at no charge but 20. shillings a man towards their vittels, neither haue they any waiges, but in leiu thereof they haue one third part of all the fish and trayne.

Another third part there is allowed the owners of the Shippe for their fraught, and the other third part is allowed for the victuall, salte, nets, hookes lines and other implements for taking and making the Fish.

The charge of victualling (which is vsually for 9. Mounths,) the salte &c. doth commonly amount to about 800 pounds, and for that they haue (as I said one third part of the Fish) which is, neere 67. tunne, the Shippe being laden, which will make 1340, Kintalls, (at the Market) sometimes when they come to a good Market they sell their Fish for 44. Rialls a Kintall, and so to 36 Rialls, which is the least, but say they haue 40, one time with another, and at that rate one third of
that

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that Shippes layding doth yeeld 1340 pounds, which they haue for disbursing of 800 pounds nine Mounths.

Now take notice that they are but 8 or 10 weekes in taking all their Fish, and about one Mounth longer in making it fit to be Shipped.

Which being considered, then say that such men as are sent ouer to plant, haue 12 Months prouision, which will amount to 1066 pounds 13 shillings 4 pence, these men stay in the Countrey, and doe take the benefit both of the first & last fishing season, & all other opportunities, the Fishing continuing good at the least seauen Moneths in the yeare, though not all at one time: now I hope you will grant that they are as likelie to take two Shippes lading as the other one, which if they doe, one third thereof at the same rate will amount to 2680 pounds, the charge you are at being deducted, the profit is 1019 pounds 6 shillings 8 pence. Now tell me seriously, which is the more profitable course?

Againe consider, that in all likelihood this Fish is to be taken in 5. Moneths, then haue you 7. Moneths more to imploy your men in the Countrey euery yeare, about building of Shippes, cleauing of pipe-staues, or any other thing, and will that be worth nothing?

Truely this I will say, send men ouer but with 18 Moneths prouision, and Cattell, and Corne to plant, and
other

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other necessaries, and they shall afford you thus much profit yearely, without euer putting you to more charge if God blesse them with health, and you from losses, (and I neuer heard of any great losse by aduenturing thither) and that you bee fitted with good and vnderstanding men to ouer-see the businesse, who is able to direct them.

CHAP. VII.

Sheweth how every parish may be freed of their weekly payments to the poore, by the profits which may bee fetched thence. With certaine Obiections against the things contained in this and the former chapter, with answers thereunto.



AND thus haue I shewed you what hopes there is of profit by plantations, yet haue I shewed you no other meanes to raise it, but by fish and timber. I would not haue you say there is nothing else in the Country to make any benefite of; for I assure you it is well knowne to myselfe, and others who haue beene there, that there are diverse other good things there to be had; but I doe not loue to speake of all at one time, but to reserue some, to stop the mouths of such

such prating coxcombs as will neuer be satisfied with any reason, but will alwaies cavill though to little purpose.

And methinks I heare some such people buzzing in some other obiections, and bidding me stay, and not fish before the net, for there are many lets, as these ; There are many ships goe, that makes not so good voy-ages as I speake of ; for they are so long beaten in their passage, or on the coast, that the best of the fishing is past before they be there.

To that I answer, I speak not what euery ship doth, but what some doe and all others may doe, if they be in the Country to take all opportunities.

2. Obiect. That it is not possible to make Plantations so publicke a businesse, as that it should redound to the benefit of all the Kings Subiects. And againe that there will never be so much money rased as to establish such Plantations, for that most men in this age respects their own profit 100 times more then the publicke good ; and their hearts are so glewed to the world, that you shall as soone hang them as draw anything from them, though it be to never so charitable an use. And if it should be by way of commandment, it would be a grievance not to be endured.

But I would aske such men whether they be so void of charity, as that they will not doe themselues good,
because

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because some others shall haue some by it also? And whether they will be griued at a man for shewing of them how, by the disbursing of 20 shillings, they shall haue 20 shillings a year for seuen, ten or twenty years, and perhaps for euer?

My desire is not that any should be compelled. Onely this I could wish, that euery parish would adventure so much as they pay weekly to the reliefe of the poore (which is no great matter.) And so euery shire by itselfe, would send ouer men to plant. And if after 18 moneths they shall not yearely returne so much profits continually as will keep their poore, and ease their purses, (provided alwaies, as I said before, that they send such men as are fit, and that the Iustices of euery Shire be carefull to appoint such a man to be their Captaine and Director as is honest, and of good vnderstanding, and that God blesse them from losses,) will I be contented to suffer death.

And yet let me tell you, that if it should please God, that once in seuen yeares a ship should bee cast away (which is more than hath beene usuall, for I dare say, that for euery ship that is cast away in those voyages, there is 100 which commeth safe) yet it is but that yeares profite lost, and perhaps not halfe.

Another obiection may be this, That all men are not
Fishermen,

Fishermen, and that it is not so easie a thing to take fish, as I make it.

To that I answer, That take a survey of all the men that goeth in these voyages, and there shall not bee found one third of them that are meerly fishermen, and no other Trades.

Nay, I know many ship-Companies, that have amongst them house-Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, Taylors, Shooemakers, and such like, and in deed it is most fit they should be such: and I saw by experience, that divers who were never at Sea before this yeare, proued very good fishermen: but I could wish that euer a fift part of a Company be Fishermen, and the rest will quickly be trained up, and made skillfull.

I would to God that some one Shire, or more, would begin this godly and profitable course. For certainly, God hath created all for the use of man, and nothing hath he created in vayne.

And if wee will endure povertie in *England* wilfully, and suffer so good a Countrey as this is to lye wast, I am perswaded wee are guiltie of a grievous sinne against God, and shall never be able to answer it.

I could also wish, that the Lords both spirituall and temporall, the Knights and others to whome God hath given abundance of these outward things, would
(for

(for the honour of God, the comfort of the poore of our Land) ioyned together, and by a voluntary contribution rayse a summe of money, and imploy it this way : and that the profites might goe to the maintaining of poore children, and trayning them up in this course, by which they may be kept from begging and stealing.

CHAP. VIII.

Containes certaine directions for all priuate persons that intends to goe into New-England to plant.



EXT unto this I could wish that euery priuate man that hath a desire this way, would consider these things which I wil heere set downe before he goe too farre, lest he depriue himselfe of the profite I haue shewed may be had, and be one of those that repent when it is too late, and so bring misery upon himselfe and scandalize the Country, as others haue done.

1. That it is a Countrey, where none can liue except he either labour himselfe, or be able to keepe others to labour for him.

2. If a man haue a wife and many small children, not to come there, except for every three loyterers he haue

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haue one worker; which if he haue, he may make a shift to liue and not starue.

3. If a man haue but as many good labourers as loyterers, he shall liue much better there then in any place I know.

4. If all be labourers, and no children, then let him not feare, but to doe more good there in seven yeares then in England in twenty.

5. Let no man goe without 18 moneths prouision, so shall he take the benefit of two seasons before his provision be spent.

6. Let as many plant together as may be, for you will finde that very comfortable, profitable and secure.

FINIS.

NOTE. It will be observed that in the Voyage Chapt. V follows Chapt. III. This is so in the original, and

was merely a typographical error of the old printer, which it was thought best not to correct.



APPENDIX.

The Will of the Rev. Robert More, Father-in-Law
of Christopher Levett.

Da Domine perficere ; Velle dedisti :
July 22, Anno Domini 1642.

TN The Name of God Amen, I Robert More
Master of Artes Preacher of Gods word & Rec-
tor of the Church & Parrish of Gicsley growinge
now weake & feeble by the daily paynes & griefe of the
Strangwry, Consideringe the Frayle estate of this poore
sinfull life, And beinge now about the age of yeares
doe ordayne and make this my last will and testament as
followeth. And first for my religion & devotion towards
God, my faith in Christ, & my loue to his Saintes & Ser-
uantes on Earth, I do freely, boldly & Constantly beleeeve
& Confesse against the damnable heresies of Turkes,
Pagans, Jewes, Papists, all Phantasticall ffamilists & all
other

ent; 2 and 3,

twin brother of	Wife's name unknown. Children : Robert, born Feb. 13, 1611. Ursula, bapt. Jan. 7, 1617.
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Levett, bapt, ael Abigail, 15827, 1614; pt. 26, n, Nov. Martha, 2, 1611; ee as a y inher- 3; Jos- 1; Ben- p, Eliza-	Name of wife un- known.	Anne Levett, Married Mar. 1623, and Mar. 27, 1627.	Chris. Topham, Merchant and Al- derman of York, died, 1625.	Joseph Mickle- thwaite, Physician died Sept. 7, 1658.
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other old or newe hereticall devises whatsoever, that same holy ffaith sound doctrine of Saluation by Christ alone, which is published & taught in the Church of England & which I have beene learninge all my life out of the pure fountayne of the vnchangeable word of God, both in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge for the Space of Tenne yeares, & in the Countrie euer since & w^c I haue now by the speciall grace of God publikely taught & preached constantly both in the South & North parts, & in my owne Charge especially about the space of years Continuinge to the extent of reasonable abilitie, to reade, expound, Catechise, pray, preach, & sing Psalmes, & neuer at better ease then when I am so occupied; Then for my first Callinge unto & charge of this Rectorie, whereunto it pleased God to call mee beinge come fro Cambridge when I was 24 years old to see my friends & stayinge to preach at Skipton Castle by the request of y^t noble Earle George & his Lady Margaret Countesse of Cumberland Daughter to y^t most noble & worthie ffrancis Earle of Bedford, & there continuinge about a yeare and an halfe preachinge in Craven & once or twise at Giesley vpon intreaty, it pleased God thereby to worke such an earnest desire & constant resolution in my Predecessor Mr. Bateman to resigne & giue ouer his Charge of this people, by reason of his owne disabilitie, that the noble Earle of
Huntington

Huntington vnderstandinge thereof did acquaint my Lord of Cumberland & his Ladye therew^t & moved them to make it knowne to that most worthie Earle of Bedford writinge his owne hob^{le} letter also to Patron at the Court, w^c the Earle of Bedford sollicitinge & pcuringe the helpe of his noble ffriends the Earle of Warwicke, his Son in Lawe, the Lo: Peregrin Bartu Lord Willobye, The Earle of Oxford & S^r ffrancis Walsingham, being all about the Court, & hauinge heard mee preach it pleased God so to move all their harts as to ioyne their purses together & to purchase the Patrons title of p^rsentinge for euer & to passe their title vnto the Lord Willobye only, who did beare the greatest part of the Charge, & his honor to p^rsent mee first, & after to passe the whole Title to mee foreuer, w^c his Lor^p did most Hob^{ly} performe under the Seale of his Armes, & therefore I do w^t all reverence & thankfullnesse Comend their worthie Zeale & holy care to set forward the preachinge of the Gospell as a pattern to all posteritie & in this holy faith & true religion: i: to beleeve only in the infinite mercies of God the ffather by the merits of the sufferings & righteousnesse of Jesus Christ through the grace of the holy sanctifyinge spirit, & to worship this onely true and eternall God the ffather son & holy Ghost, 3 persons & one God accordinge to his owne word w^t
out

out any other Romish, Earthly or humane inventions (except such only as for order, decency, or edification) & sincerely to loue the Brethren y^t do the like, I do most ioyfully & constantly liue & dye, as for the controu'sies in our Church about ceremonies & the order and manner of gouernment, this is my comfort y^t wee cannot iustly be charged w^t anything y^t is simply evill & contrary to Gods word though many learned & good men haue alwaies holden & do still hold, & y^t w^t great reason y^t needlesse ceremonies greatly abused in Poperie & remaininge still in our church are very inconvenient & dangerous & therefore ought by the authority & zeale of our Christian gou'nours in conuenient time to bee removed & not multiplyed: howsoeu[er] for the time by the wisdome & humility of ye modest & discreet people they may bee tolerated, & yet this also in this case is not the least part of my griefe to see so great and strong opposition, euen to the hazards & losse of their estates & callings, yea to the touch & liuelyhood of many godly and learned men, in things of small moment, not touching matter but manner, not substance but ceremonies, not piety but pollicie, not deuotion but decencie, not conscience but comelinesse; Wherein for myselfe, I do confesse, y^t as I could neuer take vpon mee to bee a resolute Patron of such humane ordinances, should I
neu[er]

neu[er] fynd iust cause of sufficient waight to warrant my selfe or any other to oppose or renounce them, being comanded by lawfull Authority, but rather regarding the peace of our Church the liberty of the Gospell & obedience to Authoritie, I haue held it to befytte & conuenient to submit myselfe to a wise & discreet toleratinge & vsinge of them till the time of reformation; And I haue euer laboured to perswade all others (either remaininge w^t mee, or resortinge vnto mee) to follow the same Course whereof there are many witnesses yet liuinge, & many others who are w^t the Lord. But most wofull & lamentable aboue all other abuses, are those dangerous & sacrilegious robberies & spoyles of our Churches both in the South & in the North parts whereby our Rectories & Parsonages are inappropriated & wrongfullie turned into the possession of Covetous worldlings, & so into vicarages & miserable Curatships of 5^{li}, 10^{li} or 20 marks pensions per annum, or the like, w^c most fearfull & bloody robberie the Devill first devised & practiced by y^t robbinge Romish vsurped power vnder p^tence of holinesse & charitable relievings of his floystred munkeries, Abbats & nunries &c, most grievously wronginge thereby the maiesty of God himselfe w^t the Princes & people also of the world, this monstrous cryinge abuse hath beene so suffered & continued eu[er] since

since the death of K : H : the 8th, as y^t all the godly Endeavours & zealous care of our famous Ks. & Qs. w^t our most reuend Bishops & Ho:^{ble} nobles & whole Estate could neu[er] reforme the same & vpon this wofull spoill & decay of our Church livings Satan hath too violently & necessarily drawne in another mischiefe worse (if possible) then the former, w^c is our blind guides or ignorant readinge Ministers the very poyson & plague of our Churches the disgrace & shame of the gospell & destruction of our people, for insufficient maintenance hath bred insufficient Ministers & these two are the most wofull & dangerous in our English Church & most necessarie to bee reformed, But the Christian care of our gracious King, our most reuend Bishops (whose principall care & charge it ought to bee) our zealous nobles & godly subiects w^c holy worke the Lord for his mercy wolde bring to passe in his good appoynted time to the glorie of his name & Comfort of his Church. And for my earthly estate w^c is not greate but such as God in his mercifull providence hath iuged & appoynted to bee best for mee, first for my freehold lands, as God hath giuen dius Tenements and Lands vnto mee so do I for his sake & to be a poore example of holy devotion & charity to others of better ability freely & cheerfully giue one speciall Tenement in Menston now in the
Tenour

Tenour of Christopher Watson of the yearly rent of 5^{li} or as it shall bee reasonable valued hereafter, w^t y^e consent of the sayd schoolemaster vnto y^e schoolehouse w^c I have lately builded & to the schoolemaster thereof for his better maintenance w^t all the buildings, Garth & Crofte on the backside & all other Closes Crofts & landes therevnto belonging w^t all their appurtenances, in Menston aforesayd now in the Tenure of the said Christopher Watson or his assignes, provided alwaies & vpon this condition y^t the sayd schoolemaster bee alwaies chosen & appointed by the Rector of the Church & to have his dyet & lodgeinge in the Hall and Parsonage w^t the Churchinge duties or Tenne Pounds in lue thereof if the said schoolemaster cann better p'vide for himselfe, And secondlie for those ffreehold Lands in Menston which I bought of W. Jeffray Pickard & his sonne William as appeareth by the deeds therof I doe give them all to my naturall sonne and heire Timothee More together with one little Deske in my greate Parlour containinge the deeds & writings thereof: that is to say all that Capitall Messuage with all the Lands now in his own occupation thereunto belonging or in the occupation of his Assignes for & during the Tearme of his naturall life And to the heires of his body lawfully begotten or Lawefully to be begotten

and

and for defalt of such heires then I doe give all those said Lands vnto Jeremye Levett my Grandsonne and to his heires for ever accordinge to one deede of ffeoffment which I haue heretofore made to my worthy ffreinds & kinsfolkes, Mr Doctor Micklethwaite & Mr Parsevall Levett, Cittizens of Yorke whereby I haue intaild all those Lands unto my said Grandsonne Levett for the Tearme of his Life and to the heires of his body Lawfully begotten for ever. I doe also giue unto him the said Jeremy Levet all my best bookes & best Apparrell: But as for those other Three Litle Tenements remaining in my owne right & disposing Lyinge in Menston or Burleywoodhead, the first whereof beinge late in the Tennour of Robert Nixon and now in the Tennour of Walter Fournesse of the yearly rent of seaven Nobles; the second in the Tennour of Richard Sunderland of the yearely rent of a Marke; and the Third in the Tennour of Richard Eldsworth of Burley Woodhead of the yearely rent of fforty shillings I doe give them all with all the Lands buildings and all appurtenances therevnto belonging vnto my Grandaughter Marye Levett and to her heires and Assignes forever in regard of her Carefull attendance about me and her diligent respect of my howse keepinge because her portion is the weakest of all my Three Grandchildren, As for all other Lands & Tenements

Tenements in Burley, Burley woodhead or elsewhere which hee my sonne Timothy hath bought by himselfe or with my helpe, I leave them all to his owne disposinge. And for my Coppyhold Lands in the Forrest of Kharesebrough I have disposed and surrendered them heretofore as appeareth; Now for my goods vpon this Condition that my said sonne & heire doe not att anytime hereafter make any Clame thereof or doe not trouble my Executors about the same, I doe giue vnto him one greate Siluer bowle with two greate Siluer Spooones & two Lesse Siluer Spooones and one litle Siluer peice for wine & one gold Ringe with all Tables Bedsteads & other household Stuffe remaininge in the howse att Menston wherein hee now dwelleth: And I doe also give vnto my Granddaughter Mary Levett the iust somme of Three hundred Pounds for mendinge her portion; Now for my Worthy Learned & Worth Sonne in Lawe M^r Robert Hitch I doe give vnto him all that title and right which I have in the disposinge of the Rectory, or Parsonage of the Church & Parrish of Giesley which was assured & convayed vnto me by the right Hob^{le} Peregrine Lord Willobye vnder the Seale of his Armes with all the evidences thereof assuringe myselfe that if my Said Sonne in Lawe M^r Hitch bee not my next Sucessor that then my most hopefull Grandsonne
M^r Jeremy

Mr Jeremy Levette shalbe my next Successor & none other accordinge to his most faithfull promise which hee hath freely made vnto mee : in assured hope whereof I doe also give vnto him my best bedstead in the greate Parlour with the greate wainscott Presse and Portall all the Glasse with the Iron Barres & Casements with all the Lowse window Soles & the Wainscott pertitions in the Hall Parlours, Kitchen Iling roomes, Gallerye Chambers with all the Mapps and Pictures with all the Seats & Shelues therein & all the loose boards in the high Lofts & over the Oxen & Calves with all other Swall & Timber in the Laith, fould or wood and all the Timber for the Dove Coate with all Stees and hecques and Plancers in the Stable beast howses or fould, with all the Doores Lockes & Keys in the Hall, out Kitching, Stables, Garners, Layths as they are now, with the same Steepfatt and all other Stone troughes ; the out portall gate & all the gates about the fould, with all other p'titions, ffences & Dowres about the inner Courte, Garden & Orchard, the value of all which I leave to his owne Estimation : and doe thinke them all to litle in regard of his true harted Love to his brother Levett & his Sister Mary my howsekeeper ; And my will is that all these Severall Parselles doe remaine & continue to the vse of my said Grandsonne Levet when hee shall enter vnto it, and I
doe

doe give vnto my said Grandsonne M^r Hitch one little Ironbund Chist or Coffe with severall p'titions for swerall Coynes & two Gaueling Staves in the Hall. It, I give to Cozen Ogden in Yorke 40^s, and to my honest religious Cozen Snawdon for his children 20^s. And to my true Convert M^r Goulsbrough 20^s to bee payd vnto him the ffirst day of May w^c is after my death soe longe as he Lives; To Robert Oldfeild 20^s. To Grace Denison xv^s. To Ellen Bransby vj^s viij^d. To Isaacke Illingworth vj^s viij^d. To Tho: Sergant v^s. To Ro: Dinison of Yeddon 5^s. To John Rimer vj^s viij^d. To my Curate Tenn Shillings, To my Clarke ffive Shillings; and to Hollins Twelue pence; ffor my buriall dutyes; To Eight power Children which I have bound ovt Apprentises every one of them Twelve pence. To litle Isaack Illingworth xij^d. Item, I give vnto Mr. Charles Ffairfax my wor^{ll} & Religious Neighbour my Steile Speire in the Portall & two Gaueling Staues in the Kitching; & M^{rs} ffairfax my perfume gilded bellows & to my Granddaughter M^{rs} Sara Hitch my Pepper Millne & my greate Abbay grater; And yett to shew my further Care & Charitable towards all orderly poore besides our dayly releife, att our monthly Cesments our vsuall Collections att all our Communion; And my yearely givinge of Eight or Tenn Pounds out of my owne private Box
for

for the vse of the power. I doe give fflower Nobles to every Towne a Noble to be dealt to every power house fflower pence or Sixpence by the dischretion of the officers in every Towne with the consent of Thomas Bailey, Abraham Bayston, Mathew Smith & William Morrell & to haue noe beggin att my ffunerall, And my will is this to bee done in the morninge or about Sonne Sett; the greate bell onely beinge told in going to & ffrom Church And euery honest able housholder of this Towne havinge vj^d sent an houre before or two; to accompany my Corpes And to have two or Three Pot-tells of Clarrett wine and a Manchett loafe beinge Cutt in fower in the Hall when it goeth forth; And onely the buriall prayers in the Church and soe home; And thus my Debts Legacies & ffunerall expenses beinge discharged, The rest of my goods I give to my three Children M^r Robert Hitch M^r Jeremy Levett & Mary Levett to be equally devided amongst them; whome I also make my Joynt Executors of this my Last will & Testament. Domine Jesu veni Cito Amen. Sealed & deliuered in the presence of vs Raiph Oates, Curate. Abraham Baitsonne. Et Septimodie Mensis Octobres Anno D'm 1644 probatum fuit hujus testamenti per testimonium Jeremieo Levet.

ROBERT MORE.



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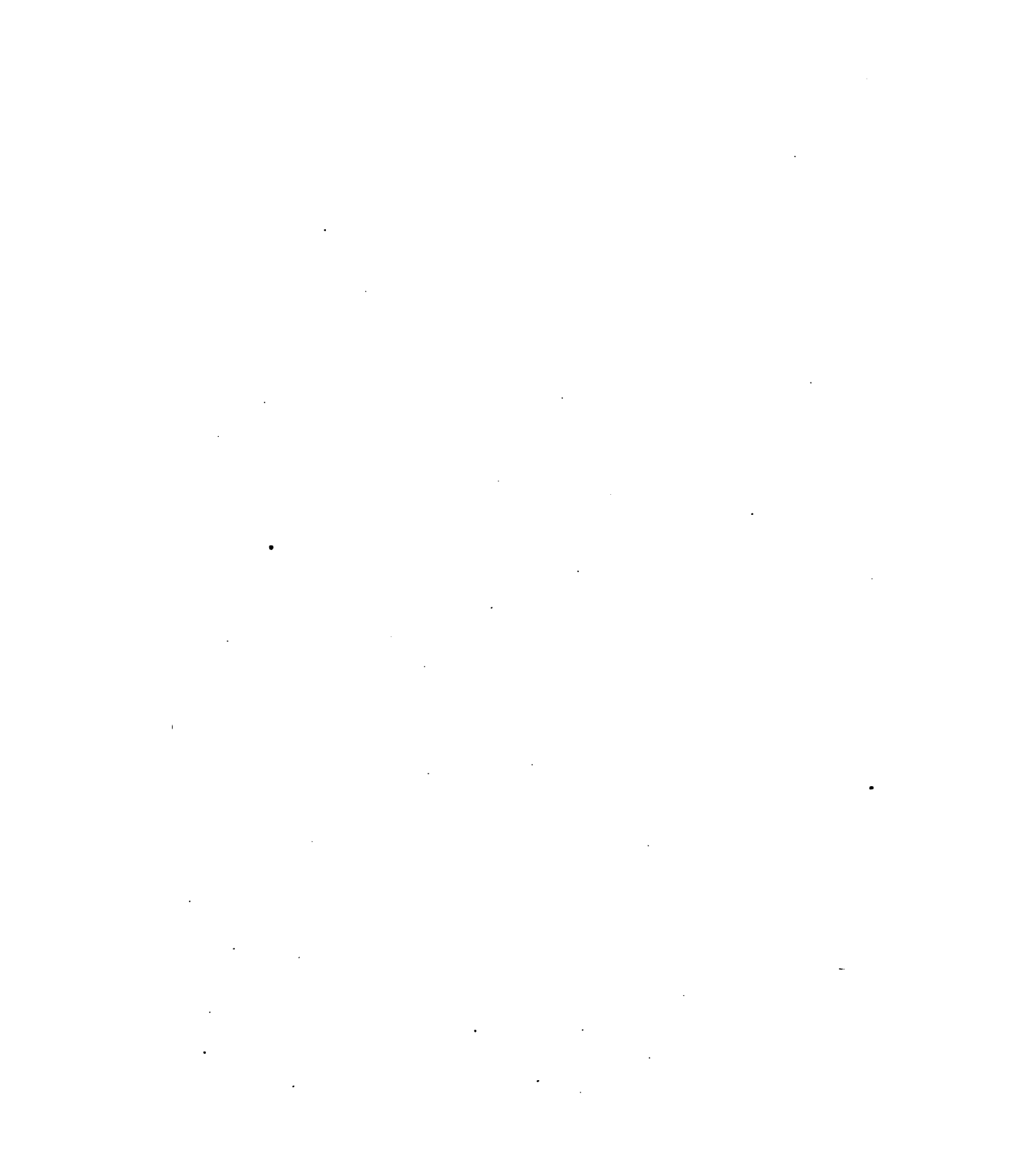
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